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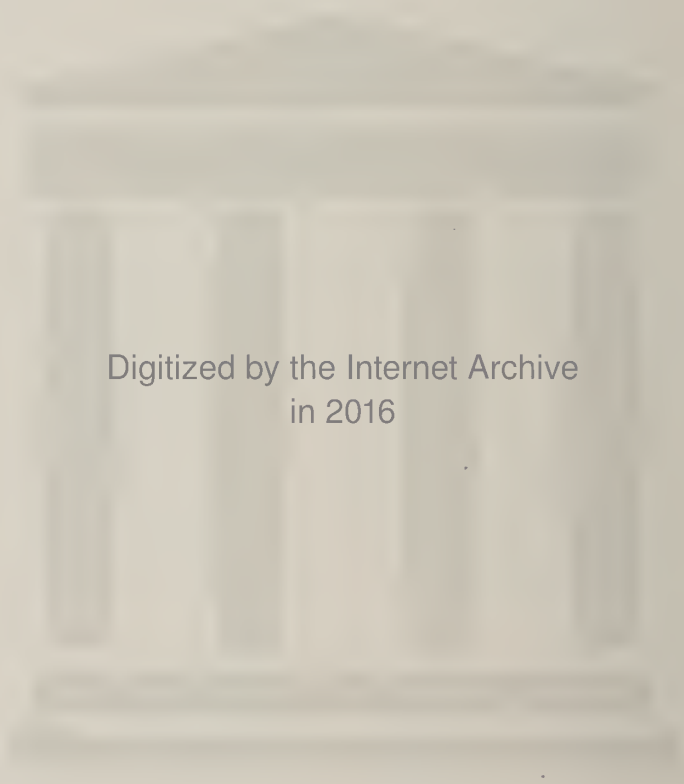
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No. 72.—December, 1837.

I.—*Abstract Journal of an Expedition to Kiang Hung on the Chinese Frontier, starting from Moulmein on the 13th December, 1836. By Lieut. T. E. MACLEOD, Assistant to the Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces, with a route map.*

[Extracted from a Report to E. A. BLUNDELL, Esq. Commissioner, and communicated by the Right Honorable the Governor of Bengal.]

Having left *Maulamyaing* on the 13th of December, 1836, I reached the village of *Pike Tsouny* on the 16th, and was detained there by the non-arrival of the elephants until the 21st, when I finally quitted it and reached *Labong* on the 9th of January, 1837. I found the *Chou-koua* who since *CHOU CHE WIT*'s death, had conjointly with *CHOU RÁJA BRI'T* the late *Tsaubua*'s son, exercised the government over the province, absent at *Bankok* and no *Tsaubua* nominated; and it was with reference to the appointment of one, that these officers had been to the capital.

Though I had received information of this previous to my arrival there, yet as the chiefs of *Labong* were the first to court and establish a friendly communication with us, and as our principal supplies of cattle had been drawn from their territories, I determined on delivering your letter and presents to the officiating ruler.

My reception at the place was most friendly, and I had an interview with the *CHOU RÁJA WU'N* the day after my arrival. He expressed himself glad to see me, and assured me of his anxious desire to continue on the friendly footing they had always been on with us, to afford our merchants every assistance and protection in their power, and to facilitate as much as possible a free intercourse between our countries.

I was on my arrival permitted to enter the fort and pitch my tent close to the late Tsaubua's palace, for the convenience of my followers, who found cover in some sheds attached to it, which being contrary to their customs was no small proof of their friendly feeling towards us.

Our traders stated that no difficulty or delay was experienced in procuring passes, nor any impediment thrown in the way of the cattle trade.

I quitted *Labong* on the 12th and reached *Zumuè* the same day. Here no person received me nor was any notice taken of me until I had sent to express my surprise at it, when apologies were made and many false excuses offered. I was presented to the Tsaubua on the 15th, he made many professions of goodwill towards us, which from his character I have no reason to mistrust. The chiefs present endeavoured to dissuade me from proceeding towards *China*, asserting that the roads were impassable, infested by robbers, and no supplies procurable. An indirect attempt was also made to persuade me to go to *Muang Nan*, through which district the road frequented by the Chinese caravan runs, evidently wishing to relieve themselves from all trouble and responsibility. Finding that I was not to be moved from my purpose, and that I had no intention whatever of visiting *Muang Nan* itself, they said that they did not wish me to go to *China*, but that even if they did not give me permission to proceed, if I insisted on going they could not prevent me. I disclaimed all intention of forcing my way through their country, that if your request was not acceded to I should without delay retrace my steps to *Maulamyaing*. I at the same time made use of every argument I could bring forward to gain my point, and was finally told that before an answer could be given me it would be necessary to consult the authorities at *Labong* and *Lagon*, as it was customary on all matters of importance, and I should have a reply in six days. They requested me to postpone any other subject I might have for discussion until the above was settled.

I was admitted to a second conference on the 18th, arranged for the apprehension of some runaway thugs, and discussed various complaints of the cattle merchants.

Finding on the 22nd that no intelligence had been received of the officers from *Labong* and *Lagon*, who had been sent for to consult respecting my journey, it appeared to me that they were endeavouring to delay my departure until orders could be received from the *Chou-kona*. I therefore called on the *CHOU RÁJA WU'N* and complained of the unnecessary delay, when he requested me to wait till the 24th for the replies.

They evidently were embarrassed how to act; the KIUNG TUNG Tsaubua had last season sent down a mission to obtain permission for subjects to pass through the *Zumuè* territories and trade with us at *Maulamyaing*; this officer was well received, and the matter referred to *Bankok* and he himself detained many months on the plea of their motives being suspected, and eventually sent back with an uncourteous refusal. After this it was doubtful how the court at *Bankok* might view the present mission.

More than two-thirds of the inhabitants of *Zumuè*, *Labong* and *Lagon* are *Talien* refugees, or persons from the *Burman* provinces to the northward, who had either voluntarily settled under the Siamese Shans, having been inveigled to do so by specious promises, which were never kept, or seized and brought away during their former constant incursions into those provinces, chiefly *Kiang Tung* and *Muang Niong*. The whole of these are much oppressed and would joyfully avail themselves of any occasion to throw off the Siamese yoke. The authorities are aware of the growing hatred and disgust to their rule, particularly amongst the *Kiang Tung* and *Muang Niong* people, and they also well know, that all these people look upon us very favourably, and as their only certain means of deliverance.

Their fears and suspicions have been lately much increased by a deserter (and a person of some rank) from one of the *Burman* towns on the western bank of the *Salwen*. He has assured them that the king of *Ava* was bent upon adding *Zumuè* to his kingdom, and that the *Kiang Tung* Tsaubua had undertaken to effect this with the assistance of his relations in captivity.

According to the arrangement made with the CHOU RÁJA WU'N I visited the Tsaubua on the 24th and told him I much regretted that I could not longer delay my departure, and wished to quit the place the next day. He said that I had long patiently waited and as the officers from *Lagon* and *Labong* had not arrived, he would take the responsibility on himself and orders should be issued for my being escorted by the road the Chinese caravans came, which was also open to our merchants. I asked whether they had any objection to throw open in like manner the road to *China*, viâ *Kiang Tung*; this he said could not be done until the *Chou-kona* returned. I thanked him for this proof of friendship towards us, but before taking my leave inquired whether any order had been issued about the tax levied on cattle sellers, for the CHOU RÁJA WU'N had on the 22nd told me that my propositions had been complied with. To my surprise they now declined to make any alteration until the *Chou-kona* returned.

I experienced the utmost difficulty in obtaining satisfactory information about the routes to *China*. Those who could have given me information were either afraid to do so, or have been schooled to repeat what the officers of Government had told me; others were again evidently interested in the road they recommended.

The Chinese merchants residing in the place had told me that the *Kiang Tung* road was the best, that the other I should find very difficult, having ranges of high mountains to cross, and that elephants could not travel by it. I should only find scattered hill tribes and no villages for a great distance. I therefore determined if possible to obtain permission, either directly or indirectly, to my proceeding by the road recommended by them, to enable the merchants who had come up with me, and had all their goods on elephants, to accompany me. I also hoped that the road having been once travelled by a British officer with traders, might eventually facilitate its being thrown open.

On the 27th I was happy to see part of the Chinese caravan arrive, their report confirmed what I before heard about the road. The chiefs had assured me that there was a road more to the eastward than the above mentioned one, along the eastern bank of the *Mékhong* or *Cambodia* river, with large towns and villages two or three days' journey apart. These the Chinese informed me did not exist, that they had many years ago been pillaged and destroyed by the Siamese Shans, and the road entirely overgrown with jangal and blocked up. They also urged me to try and get the *Kiang Tung* road, which was by far the best, thrown open.

These merchants informed me that they were most anxious to carry on a brisk trade with our provinces, and that the market was most satisfactory, but that the road travelled by those who visited us in 1836 was such as to render it impracticable for them to come by it. This objection I am happy to say can be easily overcome by their taking the road travelled by me on my return here from *Zumuè*. I remonstrated with the *CHOU RÁJA WU'N* against sending me by a road either impossible for elephants, or by one which had been for years closed in addition to passing me to another Shan district. Permission was ultimately given for me to select my own road from the information I should collect on the way. It was however agreed that I should not consider the road travelled by me as having been thrown open to us, but merely as a favor granted me being sent on a mission.

After many attempts to delay my departure I left *Zumuè* on the 29th in company with a Shan officer sent to escort me with six elephants, and though before quitting it I had taken care to have the arrangement

about the road officially communicated to him, yet the day after we left he received a letter from the court officers directing him on no account to permit me to proceed by *Kiang Túng*, but to escort me by the road travelled by the Chinese caravan. This was privately communicated to me, and I was convinced they had determined clandestinely to use every means in their power to prevent my journey, but to appear outwardly to be assisting me from fear of offending us.

We reached the frontier village of *Púk Bong* belonging to *Zumuè* on the 6th of February. Here the road to *Kiang Túng* branches off from the one they proposed my going by. Our progress had been slow, and the *Zumuè* chiefs had had ample time to send a reply to the officer with me, but none came. An attempt was made to delay me here, no rice was to be procured, and all the elephants belonging to the village were away in the jangals, and it would take at least four or five days to collect all I required for my journey to *Kiang Túng*. Anticipating detention on the road before I left town from the manner the authorities were putting off my departure, I had taken the precaution to load two elephants with rice and was thus perfectly independent of the Shans for supplies. The officer finding I had come prepared and would not stay for my elephants, volunteered to accompany me two marches to put me in the right road, though I had a man with me whom I had hired for the purpose of showing me the road. Finding this officer after the two marches inclined to come on, I encouraged him to do so, wishing him to witness every thing that occurred at *Kiang Túng*, that he might report the same to his chief, and thus convince his countrymen whatever they might think, that I had truly stated to them the object of my mission.

I reached the first village belonging to *Kiang Túng* on the 13th, and the town itself on the 26th, and was received in the most flattering manner. I was introduced to the *Tsaubua* on the 22nd. He and all his chiefs really rejoiced at my arrival and were lavish in their terms of the respect they had for us, and assured me they had long been most anxious to open a communication with us. He tried to dissuade me from proceeding towards *China* on the plea of the states to the north-east of his territory, and through which I should have to pass, being in a state of anarchy and confusion consequent on the death of the *Kiang Túng Tsaubua*.

The town is situated in $21^{\circ} 47' 48''$ north latitude and about $99^{\circ} 39'$ east longitude. It is a poor and thinly populated place, surrounded by a brick and mud wall, but so badly erected that it is constantly falling down. It is built on some low undulating hills

surrounded by high mountains, and the dry ditch round the town is at some places 70 feet deep, being dug from the base of the wall on the top of the hill, to the level of the swamp found at their bases. The surrounding mountains are well peopled by tribes of *Lawas*, *Ka Kuas* and *Ka Kúis*, and the villages in the valleys must be likewise large and contain a great many inhabitants judging from the crowds that assemble in the town on a market day. All the towns and villages passed by me to the north and east of the capital were inhabited, the houses much better than those in town, and in every respect more comfortable.

The Tsaubua is about 50 years of age, but an active-minded man; he has been many years blind, he is much beloved by his subjects. He was the youngest of six brothers, (the eldest of whom was Tsaubua of the place) and who about thirty years ago rebelled against the Burmans and placed themselves under the protection of *Siam* and are now detained at *Zumuè* and *Labong*. The present Tsaubua on the way, finding the Siamese were inclined to break their promises to them, after vainly endeavouring to persuade his brothers to join him, fought his way, with a small party, back to his native place, which though then depopulated he has managed to repeople. The avarice and cruelty of the Burmans drove them to the step they took. The Siamese would find the present Tsaubua a troublesome neighbour and enemy but for his misfortune.

There were formerly many distinct states in this direction ruled by Tsaubuas, who with their subjects also either joined the Siamese or were afterwards carried away. All these states now are under *Kiang Túng*, but immediately governed by a descendant of the former Tsaubuas, and no doubt, will eventually be erected again into separate states, when their inhabitants have increased, which they are rapidly doing, and will do if not disturbed by the Siamese or their tributaries.

This state is tributary to *Ava*, but the chief plainly shewed me that they had no affection for their jealous and greedy masters.

It is a great thoroughfare for the Chinese caravans, being the only safe high road from *China* to *Moué* and other Shan states to the westward of the *Salween*. It has the *Muang Lein* territory to its north, to the westward and northward of which, the wild and independent tribes of *Lawas*, and *Ka Kuis* are located, rendering the road too dangerous to be travelled, so much so, though the direct road from *Muang Lein* to *Ava* is by *Thuni*, the officers and others are invariably obliged to go to the capital by *Kiang Túng* and *Moué*.

The Chinese bring down copper pots, silks, &c. and return with cotton and tea. Many make two trips in the year, the second time they bring down rock salt from the neighbourhood of *Esnuk* (or *Muang La* of the Shans). I met a great many very respectable merchants, (some of them residing within the palace enclosure, for the Tsaubua and all trade here) all most anxious to visit *Maulamyaing*. I gave them every encouragement to do so, as well as every information they required. But they, like the others, only wish to travel by the *Kiang Túng* road.

There is a great demand throughout this province for English goods. Our merchants sold their things at a handsome profit, the market being at present wholly dependent on *Ava*: many difficulties appear to exist to the trade from *Maulamyaing* through the *Red Karean* country and the Burman territories along the *Salween*. There was a slight attempt made, though in a very friendly way, to delay my departure until instructions could be received from *Mouè*; however, finding I was bent on going on without delay, the point was given up and the Tsaubua made an excuse for not having me escorted in a way he could wish, for if he sent an officer of rank with me, umbrage might be taken at *Ava*. I was surprised that no decided objection was made to my going on, knowing how jealous the Burmese authorities are of any communication with their Shan provinces, and more particularly as the *Tsutke* or officer stationed in all these states to look after the Burman interest, was absent at *Mouè* where an officer of rank is placed by the government, to whom all the tributary Shan states are obliged to report the most trivial occurrence.

The merchants who accompanied me hearing of the unsettled state of the country above, and meeting with a good market where they were, decided on remaining. They were promised every encouragement and assistance, and were at perfect liberty to go when they pleased. It was agreed that no duty should be levied on any thing exported or imported by them, but of course a few trifling presents will be expected as is customary amongst the Burmans.

My elephants being unable to proceed and the road being over mountains and no forage procurable on them, I provided myself with ponies and quitted *Kiang Túng* on the 1st of March, and after passing through many large villages and some towns the residence of petty Tsaubuas, reached *Kiang Húng* (the *Kien yín gyé* of the Burmans) on the 9th. I found the *Kiang Túng* Tsaubua had not exaggerated the state of things. The late Tsaubua MAHA WANG had been dead some months, leaving a young son of 13 years of age. A nephew of his, son of an elder brother but who never had been Tsaubua, seized upon

the throne; the chiefs however were in favor of the son, and to prevent his being made away with secretly conveyed him to *China*, and feigned submission to the self-elected Tsaubua. They managed to assemble a large force near the town, and when these plans had ripened, put to death many of his principal adherents, and the Tsaubua himself had only time to escape with a few of his followers. Parties had been sent out to apprehend him but had not succeeded in discovering him when I was there. The same night they killed his aged father and younger brother, and the Burman *Tsutke*, who was in disgrace during my visit, was only saved by the interposition of the chief priest of the place. He was father-in-law to the self-elevated Tsaubua's younger brother who was killed, and had been intriguing in favor of his connections.

This place is the capital of a large province comprising no less than 12 Tsaubuships whose territories however are not extensive, and through some of which I passed on my journey.

It is tributary to *China* but in a greater degree than the term generally implies, and might be almost said to be a Chinese province, for it pays a regular land revenue and other taxes to that kingdom, to collect and regulate which an establishment of Chinese officers and clerks are kept. But at the same time it makes certain offerings of submission and dependence once in three years to *Ava*, and which kingdom places a *Tsutke* there to look after its interest. The Tsaubuship has always belonged to one family; but the nomination of the individual rests with both the kings of *China* and *Ava*; that is, one appoints and the other is expected to confirm it; but should the selection made by one not be approved of by the other, they appear each to appoint a distinct person, and to allow the parties to decide the matter by arms, never interfering themselves;—this occurred not long ago.

The town stands in $21^{\circ} 58'$ north latitude and about $100^{\circ} 39'$ east longitude; it is built on the face of a hill on the western or right bank of the *Me Khong* or *Cambodia* river. It has no fortification and the houses though good do not amount to above 500. I saw the place under great disadvantages, many of the inhabitants had fled and the place was in the occupation of troops from various quarters.

The average breadth of the river, which is confined between two ranges of hills, is at this season about 300 feet here, and when full from bank to bank about 650, and its rise judging from its high banks must be about 50 feet. It is not at any season fordable. I had no means of measuring its depth unobserved, and I was fearful of exciting their suspicions by doing so openly. Its velocity I think is

about three miles an hour. It here has a N. W. and S. E. course, and is not navigable to any distance down, its course being interrupted by falls two or three days below the town.

I was admitted the day after my arrival to an interview with some of the petty Tsaubuas, who were almost all here with their contingents. One of them the *Talan* Tsaubua, who was the minister during the former Tsaubua's time still continued in that post, and the deceased Tsaubua's chief wife, MAHA DE'VI (but not the mother of the young Tsaubua who is by the second wife) acted as regent for the young lad, nominally by the advice of the petty Tsaubuas; but the minister was all-powerful, and did as he pleased. He had been the main instrument in the scenes lately acted there, and being a shrewd intelligent man, many supposed he had some design on the throne himself. Though my reception was civil, yet they shewed a degree of suspicion of the objects of my mission, refused to permit me to proceed over to the frontiers of their own territories towards *China* without a reference, and even hinted I had better return. They at first declined receiving the presents, but after explanations accepted them for the young Tsaubua.

It was already evident that I should not be permitted to pursue my journey, but I considered it desirable to remain at the place a few days to endeavour to allay any suspicions the authorities might entertain respecting the object of my mission, and to become better acquainted with them. I therefore requested the authorities at *Esmok* or *Muang La* might be informed that I was the bearer of letters and presents to them which I wished to deliver. Though they did not for some days make the communication yet I had reason to know the letter sent faithfully detailed the object of my mission and all I had said. I dined the next day at the palace and met all the Tsaubuas and chiefs, who like the day before were clad in Chinese costumes. All the attendants were in the same dress, and the dinner &c. completely Chinese. A few cups of spirits, which some of them freely drank, soon made them throw off the formality of Chinese etiquette, and strive to make themselves agreeable, particularly the minister, who alone can speak Burmese, though all speak Chinese.

The reply from China arrived on the 23rd and the same evening the *Talan* Tsaubua and some others came to communicate its contents to me. It contained the same remarks about merchants, &c. as made by the officers on my first interview, and went on to say that British ships daily visited *Canton*, and that that was the proper route for an officer deputed on a mission to go; that they had consulted all their historical records and could not discover a precedent of any officer

coming by the road I had, that *Kiang Húng* was a town of theirs, that orders had been sent to treat me with attention and settle all matters connected with my mission, that our merchants were at liberty to trade with them, and that their own traders over whom they exercised no control could likewise visit *Maulamyaing* if they liked; but if I insisted in coming on, it would be necessary to refer the matter to *Pekin*.

It would have taken a year at least to receive an answer, and as it was not difficult to surmise what the reply would be from that haughty court, I considered it prudent to let the matter rest, hoping that at some future period more success might attend a similar attempt.

The officers had invariably prepared me for the refusal, assuring me that even they themselves had never been permitted to go beyond *Puer*, and that only on most particular business, that the Chinese were alarmed at the approach of an officer from any foreign state, but our merchants would be allowed to enter certain towns for the purpose of trade. On this point however I received many contradictory accounts, and I am led to think that *Esmok*, which is a Chinese town built close to *Muang La*, (a Shan town on the frontier and only separated by a nullah) and five days' journey from *Kiang Húng* or *Puer*, called by the Shans *Muang Meng*, three days' journey further would be the extent of their journey. I had during my long stay visited *MAHA DEVI*—she regretted much I had not gone up during her husband's lifetime, that he would have at once sent me on, and apologized for not having shown me more attention. Of this I certainly had no cause to complain; I was in the habit of exchanging frequent visits with the minister and other *Tsaubuas*, and I am satisfied left them impressed with a high opinion of our liberality, justice and power. They said they could only compare us with the Chinese, whom they praised highly; that they were punctual and just in all their transactions, that they insisted upon the regular payment of their taxes, and wrote long letters about a few pice; but on the other hand they never took or kept any sum however small, that they were not entitled to. They on the other hand never failed loudly to complain of the avarice, &c. of the *Burmans*, whom they neither respect or regard. I endeavoured to penetrate to *Ava* by *Muang Lein* and *Thainni*, or return to *Zumùè* by the road on the eastern bank of the *Cambodia* river, for the purpose of meeting the *Chou-kona* of that place, but I regret to say that I was most reluctantly obliged to retrace my steps by the road I went up, in consequence of a despatch having reached *Kiang Húng* from *Kiang Túng* entreating the *Talan Tsaubua* to send me back there, as

orders had been received from *Monè* not to permit me to proceed towards *China* until the commands of the King of *Ava* were received. In consequence of which, orders had been received from the young *Tsaubua* to escort me back by the road I had come when I wished to return. The minister confessed that he was under obligations to the *Kiang Túng Tsaubua*, and if he now allowed me to go by any other route, it would certainly get the *Tsaubua* into trouble; he hoped therefore I would not press the point, as it was painful to him to disoblige me, and he would be obliged to apply for instructions from the young *Tsaubua*, if I insisted on it. I thought it advisable to waver the question with a good grace, for there can be no doubt that the reply would have been in favor of the *Kiang Túng Tsaubua's* request; because that chief has considerable influence with his state, the young *Tsaubua* being betrothed to his daughter.

The day before I left I met all the chiefs at dinner at the palace, when they all, and particularly the minister, gave me assurances of their friendship for us, and of their anxious desire to promote a free intercourse between our countries, that no duty whatever should be levied on our traders, and urged me strongly to repeat my visit, and to send up some merchants, and they would, to ensure them a safe passage to *China*, send people with them. I was likewise told by him that their suspicions had been raised respecting the objects of my visit, by certain reports propagated by the Burman *Tsulke* and his party, who though in disgrace had sufficient influence over their ignorance to excite their fears, but that my frequent intercourse with them soon removed their mistrust, and he hoped the unreserved and friendly manner they had lately communicated with me had removed any unfavorable impressions I might at first have formed of them. I met there many Chinese merchants settled at the place as well as those belonging to caravans. They were all eager to trade with us, and promised to visit *Maulumyaing*. They also urged me to send some of our merchants up to them. This however would not answer; for they would be obliged to transport their goods chiefly on elephants, against which there are many objections. They require from us gold thread, carpets, bird's nest, sea slugs, dates, ivory, &c. &c. Some samples of Pernambuco cotton I showed them pleased them much. Cotton would also be an article of export, for this is what they chiefly carry away from *Muang Nan*, and the difference of price, which is much in favour of the province, will more than remunerate them for the distance they would have to come for it. Their imports into *Kiang Húng* are the same as to *Kiang Túng*. I there met with woollen cloth brought by

them much cheaper than it can be purchased here. Their exports consist principally of tea, which with a little cotton is a staple of this territory. It grows on both sides of the *Me Khong* in large quantities, but like the samples I have brought down, with some seed, of a coarse description, but whether from their mode of preparing it, or naturally so, I cannot tell.

Their state extends on both banks of the *Me Khong* : it is bounded on the N. and N. E. by the *Yunan* province ; to the E. by *Cochin China* ; to the S. E. by the *Lauchang* territory, and to the south on the eastern bank of the *Mekhong* by both *Muang Luang Phaban* and *Muang Nan* ; to the southward on the western bank of the river by *Kiung Khiang* (a small state ruled by a Tsaubua tributary to *Ava*) and *Kiang Tung* ; to the westward by *Kiang Tung* ; to the north-west by *Muang lun*, which last stands in the same relation to *China* and *Ava* as it does.

I quitted *Kiang Húng*, on the 26th of March and reached *Kiang Tung* on the 31st. Here I saw the order from *Monè* not to permit me to proceed until further orders, but if I insisted in going on, they were not to prevent me but merely to take a list of the followers, &c. with me. During my stay I frequently saw the Tsaubua who as before urged me to use every endeavour in my power to obtain a free passage through *Zumuè* for all merchants, which could easily be done by British influence. He assured me it was far from his thoughts to attempt to rescue his relations from captivity, though strong enough to do so, but he knew the attempt would lead to bloodshed and be the means of their being removed to *Bangkok*. He complained of the Siamese after so many years of quiet, which he entirely attributed to us, again making aggressions into the territories of the Burmese, alluding to the affair at *Mak mai* ; that he had hoped we should not have permitted any thing of the sort, that he had lately re-established many of his deserted towns towards *Zumuè*, but he much feared they would not be allowed to remain, unless we interfered. That they considered themselves prevented by the treaty of *Yandabu* making aggressions into the Siamese territories, and we ought to put a stop to their being molested and robbed by the Siamese. He urged me to repeat my visit and to beg of you to send some person up to cure him of his blindness if possible.

I quitted *Kiang Tung* on the 4th of April, and reached *Zumuè* on the 18th, having left the elephants to come on by short marches, the country was completely burnt up and no forage to be found.

The Shan officer who had accompanied me had returned from *Kiang Tung*, the Tsaubua told him he was glad to hear I had arrived

there safe, and inquired particularly about my proceedings at *Kiang Túng*, and was satisfied by the reports made. The *Chou Rája Wún* was not pleased, and when I saw him said he was very much afraid the *Chou Houa* might be displeas'd at my going to *Kiang Túng*, and all the blame would fall on him. Some merchants who had come up from *Maulamyang* for the purpose of joining me had been there some time. I endeavoured to obtain permission for them to proceed by *Kiang Túng*, but the *Chou Rája Wún* would not hear of it, but said they were at liberty to go by the eastern road, which had been conceded to us, that every assistance would be afforded them, and passes given. He begged me to remain until the *Chou Houa's* arrival.

On the 22nd I held a long conference with the *Tsaubua* on various points. It ended in positive prohibition to the merchants passing through *Zimmay* to *Kiang Túng*. The Shan officer who accompanied me was even put in irons, and was only released through my intercession with the *Chou Houa*, who entered the town on the 6th May.

The king of *Siam* had forbidden all communication between the two states on any account, that they never could eradicate the hatred they had for the Burmans, and the *Kiang Túng* people though not Burmans were subjects of *Ava*, and therefore could not for a moment be trusted. But there was no objection whatever to our merchants going by the road on the eastern bank of the *Me Khong* or *Cambodia* river, but they would not permit any of the Shans from *Kiang Túng* or any place in any way subject to *Ava* entering their territories.

I could not leave the place until the evening of the 11th in consequence of a little discussion about a woman; a native of India had taken from this place and was attempting to extort money from her, and threatening to sell her, and to obtain satisfaction for a case of theft that had occurred many days before, and though some of the parties were secured, they were screened by the *Chou Houa's* officers, and the investigation put off in a most disgraceful way. The first the *Chou Houa* settled by allowing me to bring the woman away with me, and as I could wait no longer, he promised to have the matter inquired into before some of my people whom I left behind; and the officers, who had not been more attentive, punished.

In spite of the disagreeable discussion I had had with the chief of *Zumuè* we parted all good friends, with mutual assurances of wishing to continue on good terms with each other.

Having left the elephants behind I returned here by a different road to the one travelled in going, and which though rather longer is much better in every respect than the other.

Zumuè, *Labong* and *Lagon* have already been described by Dr. RICHARDSON, the former is in 18° 47' north latitude and about 99° 20' east longitude. They form the patrimony of one family, the chiefs are therefore all connected, and the oldest usually exercises a sort of control over the others, but this appeared to me to be very small and having only reference to their external intercourse or war with the Burmans. Much jealousy exists between them all.

The *Chou Houas* of both *Labong* and *Lagon* have been lately elevated to the Tsaubuship of those places, and the *Chou Rája Brit* of the former and *Chou Rája Wún* of the latter to the offices of *Chou Houa*. Both these states have always proved themselves anxious and willing for a free intercourse, forming a contrast in this respect with the conduct of *Zimmay*.

Cattle is abundant in *Zumuè* and *Lagon* but we have nearly exhausted the *Labong* territory. The inhabitants of the former place, to escape the oppressive exactions they are subjected to when they sell cattle, deliver them to our traders in the *Labong* territory, and thus avoid having their names registered.

There is little or no trade in these districts; the inhabitants procure salt from *Bankok*, and export paddy and stick lac. Their home manufactories supply most of their wants, and the only thing in demand from our province is the red cotton stuff called by the Burmans *shant*, and for this even the merchants do not obtain prime cost, and are only repaid by the profit they make on the cattle exported in return. In spite of their enmity towards the Burmans, large quantities of betel-nut are carried into *Kiang Túng*, which state has not a single tree of that fruit in it. Many of the chiefs, if not the whole, are aware of it and allow their followers to smuggle it out of the country for their own profit, but especially object to the poorer people doing so. The trade with *China* is very limited, about 300 mules come down annually (but not one-third laden) with silks, (raw and made up) copper pots, tinsel, lace, &c. which they exchange for cotton, ivory, horns, &c. A traffic is carried on also with the Red Kareans on the right bank of the *Salween*, exchanging cattle for stick lac and slaves. This last horrible trade has not diminished, and I regret to say some of the inhabitants of India have embarked in it. I warned them agreeable to your commands of the penalty attending the introduction of any of those unfortunate creatures into our provinces.

One of the Red Karean chiefs accompanied the *Chou Houa* to *Bankok*: his as well as that chief's visit had reference to an attempt made some months ago by the Siamese Shans, to bring away the inhabitants

of some Burman villages on the western bank of the *Salween*, who they had been informed were willing to place themselves under them, if a force was only moved towards the frontier to protect them. The Burmans however met them with a large force and obliged them to return. The Red Kareans had sided with the Siamese and were eager that an attack should be made, with the sole view of getting a few slaves for sale. This useless adventure was strongly opposed by many of the chiefs, but the *Chou Houa* and *Chou Rája Wún* of *Zumuè* had their own way. They were, I heard, preparing to attack some small towns on the eastern bank of the *Salween* belonging to *Monè*, when I left.

The *Tsaubua* is old, upwards of 80, he is a mild and well disposed person, but now entirely given up in making offerings to the pagodas and priests, so that the *Chou Houa*, who is a clever and able man though naturally of a bad disposition, and much feared and disliked by the people, is in fact the ruler, and has his own way on all matters.

The states of *Muang Nan* (which is as large as *Zumuè*) and *Muang Phe*, (smaller even than *Labong*) stand in the same relation to each other as the other states before mentioned do. Cattle is abundant in these. They produce more cotton than the others and a greater number of Chinese visit them, and many even from *Zumuè* go there to procure a return load.

These territories occupy the space between the *Salween* and *Cambodia* rivers, but on the eastern bank of the latter lies the town and territory of *Muang Luang Phaban*, said to be much larger in extent than any of the others, and to be the capital of *Laos*. This place is also visited annually by the Chinese caravans, but only one or two of our traders have yet reached it, and they report the authorities are anxious, as those of *Muang Nan*, to open a communication with us.

The tribute paid by these states to *Siam* is small : the five first pay theirs in teak-wood chiefly, floated down the rivers which pass through each province, and fall into the *Me nan*. *Muang Luang Phaban* pays its tribute in ivory, eagle-wood, &c. there being no water communication between it and *Bankok*. This last state is also said to be tributary to *Cochin China* and *China* ; to the former it sends presents triennially, and to the latter once in eight years it sends two elephants.

With reference to the road that is travelled generally between this and *Zumuè* and by which I went, it runs for six days over a flat country, then the country becomes gradually mountainous and continues so for 12 marches, to *Muang Hunt*, the frontier Siamese village situated at the foot of the range. The whole distance is much intersected

by numerous large and rapid torrents. Access with a regular army and its equipments is impossible by this road and the Shans are well aware of it. There are numerous passes however of which we are totally ignorant, and of which they wish to keep us in the dark. From *Muang Hunt* to *Zumuè*, four marches, is through the valley of the *Me Piu*. From *Zumuè* to *Esmok* or *Muang La*, there may be said to be only two roads, the others being only branches of them and occasionally slightly deviating from them. The one I proceeded by is for three days over low hills, then for eleven marches to the frontier village belonging to *Kiang Túng*, *Hai Tai*, through valleys and occasionally over a few low hills, then over high mountains to *Kiang Túng*. From *Kiang Túng* to *Kiang Húng* the country is both hilly and mountainous with small rich valleys through which we daily passed, and in which there are numerous villages all well peopled. These mountains though not passable for carts have good roads and are in every respect easier to pass over than those between this and *Zumuè*, but there is not a spot of ground amongst them in which an encampment could be formed for a large force. Water is throughout abundant and the country thickly wooded.

From *Kiang Húng* to *Muang La* is five marches, and the road runs over high and barren hills.

The other road is the one by which the Chinese caravans come to *Zumuè*; it separates from the other one the village of *Pak Bong*, from whence to the *Cambodia* river, on which the town of *Kiang Khong* stands and belongs to *Muang Nan*, it is six or seven marches. The river is there crossed, the road continues in the *Muang Nan* district for four or five days, and then enters the *Muang Luang Phaban* territory and continues in it for two or three days, after which it passes through the *Kiang Húng* territories to *Muang La*. The Chinese describe this road as very mountainous. It occupies them forty days to reach *Muang La* from *Zumuè*. The road travelled by the Chinese, to *Muang Nan*, separates from the *Zumuè* one at *Kiang Khong*, on the western bank of the *Me Khong* or *Cambodia* river.

The road I returned by from *Zumuè* is the high road from that place to *Bankok*, via *Lahaing*; to within two marches of that place I proceeded, and there struck off to the westward to this place. After crossing the *Me Piu* only, did we meet any high hills and then only one, which did not occupy us long in getting over. The rest of the road is chiefly hilly but of no elevation, and though no cart road exists, one might with very little trouble be made passable for an army with its equipage. From this road, those to *Muang Nan* and *Lagon* branch

off, and it is by the former I should recommend our communication with *China* being kept up.

The accompanying map has been hastily prepared to forward with this letter to enable you to trace my route and the situation of places mentioned by me. I have adopted the Shan names of places, as pronounced by them, with the exception of those which from frequent usage have become well known.

[We must solicit indulgence if the proper names in this paper are incorrectly given: it was impossible to distinguish the *u* from the *u* in the MS.—ED.]

II.—*Abstract Journal of an expedition from Moulmien to Ava through the Kareen country, between December 1836 and June 1837. By D. RICHARDSON, Esq. Surgeon to the Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces.*

[Communicated by the Right Honorable the Governor of Bengal.]

On the 13th of December 1836, in company with Lieut. McLEOD, I left *Maulmain* and proceeding up the *Gyne* river reached *Pike-tsaung* the last village in our territories, on the 16th, here we waited four days for the elephants. On the 21st we continued our march, on the 25th crossed the boundary river separating the British possessions from those of *Siam*, and on the 26th we parted company, Lieutenant McLEOD continuing his route along the now well-frequented road to *Zimmay*, and myself striking off more to the westward, by a path rarely travelled except by the scanty *Kareen* population of the surrounding hills, repeatedly crossing the *Moy Gnow* so rapid and deep at this season that almost every time we crossed some of the people were carried down the stream. On the 1st of January I reached *Mein loon gyee* (the old *Yeun saline*), having passed only one village. Here I halted to endeavour to obtain rice to carry us through the nearly uninhabited country between this and the *Thalween*. On the following day we were joined by eleven Shans, inhabitants of the town of *Whopung* and its vicinity, who had been on a trading journey to *Maulmain*; they increased our party to ninety, all of whom were traders except about twenty-five followers of mine, and carried goods to the amount of between eight and ten thousand rupees. Their means of transport were four elephants, a few bullocks, and the remainder on men's shoulders. They were in great measure dependent on me for their supply of provisions and where the distance between the villages was great I had to assist them in their carriage also. I had some discussion with the *Myo-woon* about allowing the *Monay* traders,

Burman subjects, to pass through the point of territory under his jurisdiction; he at length agreed to it, but proposed to levy a duty of 10 per cent. against which I remonstrated as exorbitant, considering the nature of the road. A reference on that point to *Zimmay* will however be necessary. On the 6th January left *Mein loon gyee* with only five days' provisions, about one-fourth of what I wished to procure. We travelled along the road used in the monsoon (the *Mein loon gyee* river being too deep to ford), and reached the *Thalween* in lat. 18° 16' 14" N. on the 16th without seeing a single village. In the afternoon, the *Thoogyee* of *Ban-ong* the *Ka-reen-nee* village on the western bank, crossed over to my tent and told me that he had the orders of *Pha Pho* (the chief of the *Kareens*) to detain me here as it was his intention to come this far to meet me. After some remonstrance I was obliged to comply. Our rice had been short for some days and we had now the greatest difficulty in procuring one meal a day of a mixture of cholum and rice, and even that, though the people were out all the morning, was often not brought in till the evening. On the 26th even this failed us and we were obliged to push on with the consent of the *Thoo-gyee* who declared himself unable to assist us. Travelling by the same road as on my last mission, we reached *PHA PHO's* village on the 28th, having passed three or four small villages. We found that *PHA PHO* had been gone a day or two on his way to meet us on the *Thalween*, but as he had gone by a road lying to the northward of the one we had come by, we missed him, and, what was of more material consequence at the time, our provisions which he had taken with him. The people at the village were however very attentive, and his youngest son went with two of our elephants on the following morning to a *Toung-thoo* village half a day off, for rice.

On the evening of the first of February *PHA PHO* returned, and on the 3rd I waited on him with your letter and presents. He received me kindly and after several friendly visits and some discussion, I succeeded in obtaining an answer to the letter, promising every facility and protection to our traders, bringing a pass from *Maulmain*, passing through his country to the *Cambodia* Shan states; he also agreed to the Shan traders passing through to *Maulmain*; he promised to levy no duties, but said that the traders must make a small present on asking leave to proceed. He assured me my visiting the other chiefs was quite unnecessary, as he was the paramount authority, and any arrangements made with him must bind the others; as I did not know what towns I might have to visit in advance, and my presents not being very numerous, though quite valuable enough for the people I had to deal with, I did not visit them.

On the 6th February I took my leave, having hired a guide to whom the chief gave his orders touching his good conduct, and directing that we should be supplied with rice. From hence the route is perfectly unknown, no European having ever travelled it. The first two days and a half our march lay through a hilly or rather mountainous jungly country nearly destitute of inhabitants, the road bad and difficult for bullocks, water sufficient though we had no streams of any note to cross. The next two days the hills continue but covered with a considerable depth of soil with few large trees and little underwood, the population pretty numerous, and nearly the whole of the hills brought under cultivation, which is performed with considerable care and neatness. During the next three days which brought us to *Ka-doo-gyee*, the first Burman village, we were obliged to make a detour to the eastward, the proper road being said to be blocked up by fallen trees, and consequently impassible for the elephants which are never used here. This threw us out of the line of the inhabited part of the country, and we saw only one small village of deserters from *Mok-mai* and no cultivation. The red *Kareen* country is considerably more extensive than I had been led to believe from the information obtained on my last mission, and the population more dense, if density may be applied to any hill people. The part of the country crossed by me was said by no means to be the most populous part of it, which indeed might have been inferred, as it lay along the borders of the desert waste they have made, separating them from the Burmans, against whom they entertain the most rancorous enmity. It will be long before there is any considerable demand for European manufactures; they are in the first and rudest stage of an agricultural population; their habitations are miserable and destitute of every thing that conduces to the comfort of human beings, to which they are scarcely allowed by the Burmans to belong: nearly all their present limited wants are supplied within themselves. Their only traffic is in stick-lac which is produced in great quantities, and slaves, whom they capture from the Shan villages subject to the Burmans lying along their frontier. From three to four hundred are annually bartered with the Siamese Shans for black cattle, buffaloes, salt and betel-nut. This horrible traffic has within the last few years been somewhat diminished by the asylum afforded to the fugitive slaves of the Shans, in our possessions here.

The only articles of exchange they are at present known to possess available as returns to this market, are tin and stick-lac, both in abundance, but the former is too heavy and the latter too bulky to be avail-

able to any great extent with our present means of transport. Tin is to be bought there for 50 rupees per 100 viss, and will fetch in the market here about 80 rupees, there is at present however but little demand for it. Stick-lac may be bought at 200 rupees the 100 baskets, weighing on an average 22 viss or 70 odd pounds, and sells here from 880 to 1100 rupees.

On the 13th of February we reached *Kudoo* a stockaded village of about 80 or 100 houses, half of which may be within the stockade. It is called a military station though there are no regular troops here, indeed the Kareens till within the last two years were constantly in the habit of carrying off the people from the very gates of the stockade, which now pay them a sort of black mail, as their own government cannot protect them; here we halted one day to rest the elephants. The people exposed some of their goods for sale but had few or no purchasers.

On the 15th we left *Kudoo* and passed the small village of *Salaung* of 15 or 20 houses of catechu boilers quite as poor as the Kareens, and *Ban-hat* of 120 houses of rather more respectable appearance.

On the 18th February we reached *Mok-mai*. Both the above villages are under Kayennee influence, and the last from which the head men came out to meet me forms the limit of the journeys of the Chinese caravans in this direction. *Mok-mai* is a stockaded town of perhaps 300 or 350 houses, the residence of one of the Tso-boas of *Camboza* (a general term for the Shan states in this quarter). I halted about a mile from the town, and sent the guide furnished me at the last village, to notify my arrival, and request to know where I should pitch my tents. He returned and told me I might either come into the town or encamp near a Poon-gyee house outside. As there was a feast in the town, I preferred the latter as more out of the way of the noisy curiosity of the people. I could not however have fared much worse any where, for all the inhabitants of the place poured out to look at me. When I reached the halting-place, such a crowd had collected that it was scarcely possible to unload the elephants; and before this was done they had become so riotous and insulting that I was obliged to send in to the Tso-boa for protection. He sent one of his *Atween-woons* and some peons who after some trouble and a good deal of rataning which the *Atween-woon* applied himself, we were enabled to pitch the tent.

A *Than-dau-tseen* came out in the evening to ask me for a list of the presents, to inquire the object of my visit, and to request me to remain here a day to give them time to report to the head Burman

authority of *Monay*. I satisfied them in the two first points, and agreeing to halt proposed calling on the Tso-boa in the morning. I was prevented doing so by the crowds of noisy people round my tent; I had however a good deal of conversation with some municipal officers who visited me; they were all Burmans, understood the nature of my mission, and expressed a readiness, as far as they could, to forward the objects of it. I learned from them that the authority of the Tso-boa is a dead letter, the whole real power being in the hands of officers appointed by the court of *Ava*. The *Bo-hmoo-meng-tha Meng-myat-boo* (general prince MENG-MYAT-BOO) a half brother of the king's, son of a Shan princess, was at that time, and had been ever since the war, governor of the whole of the Shan countries comprehended under the general name of *Camboza tyne*; he generally resided in *Ava*, but his deputy the Tseet-kay-dau-gyee had his head quarters at *Monay* with some officers and a small military force. All business is transacted by them at the *Tat youm* or military court-house. Much surprize was expressed that I had brought letters to the Tso-boa and not to the military chiefs. I begged them to believe our sincere wish to establish friendly relations with the government in whomever vested, and assured them that had you been aware of the existence of a higher authority than that of the Tso-boa's, resident in the country, your letter would have been addressed of course to that authority. I desired them to inform the Tso-boa of the reason of my having failed to visit him to-day, and to request he would give orders or send some one to prevent the people crowding round the tent in the unreasonable way they had done, and to say I should put off my departure and wait on him on the following day. An Away-yuik came out in the morning to say the Tso-boa would be glad to see me, and I accompanied him into the town. The Tso-boa is a young man of about six and twenty, son of the last Tso-boa who was killed in the dreadful slaughter of the Shans at the stockades above *Prome*, during the late war.

I explained to him the nature of my mission, regretted that you were not aware on my leaving *Maulmain*, that my route lay through his city, expressed my certainty that you would be equally sorry that you had not had an opportunity of writing to him. I repeated my assurance of our anxiety to be on friendly terms with the Shan chiefs, and promised every protection and facility of trading to his people if they visited *Maulmain*. I requested him to encourage their doing so and begged in return that he would afford the same protection and facilities to our people visiting his country, to which he merely assented

saying "tis well." I had then some conversation with the two *Tseet-kays* (Burman officers sent from *Ava*) regarding the British possessions, power and resources, of every thing regarding which they are in utter ignorance. The *Tso-boa* himself scarcely opened his lips;—my visit lasted about an hour. The traders exposed their things for sale during the two days we halted here; there was a strong desire to buy on the part of the people, and they sold as much as from the size of the place they had reason to expect. Silver is very scarce and that in circulation is half copper. On the 20th we started for *Monay* and reached *Ban-lome* a small village of 12 or 14 houses in the evening. This is the first village we have seen since leaving their country, the inhabitants of which consider themselves as tolerably safe from the *for-rays* of the Kareens, which they all compare to the swoop of a hawk. At *Mok-mai*, though the town may contain 2000 or 2500 people, they dare not go half a mile from the stockade for firewood, and were astonished at the temerity of our mohauts in going singly into the jungle after the elephants. On the following day we reached *Monay*.

The first days' march from *Kudoo* is rugged, mountainous and difficult with no water (except one small stream) till the end of the march, when we cross the *May-neum* about three feet and a half deep. The two following days to *Ban-hat* is a good deal along the bed of a small stream; the road rugged but no hills to cross; water abundant. The next day to *Mok-mai*, which lies quite out of the direct line of march by this route to *Monay*, is over the same range of hills crossed the day of leaving *Kudoo*, but lower. Leaving the *May-ting* deep nearly four feet at *Ban-hat*, and encamping again on the *May-neum*. At *Mok-mai* there is a good deal of cattle, and cultivation round *Ban-hat* and *Mok-mai*, the rest of the country rocky mountains covered with jungle. The last two days the road was better, in many places practicable for carts, water plentiful and a great deal of cultivation near *Monay*.

The *Tso-boa* of *Mok-mai* furnished me with a guide who had authority to order the *Thoo-gyee* of *Ban-lome* to relieve him and furnish one who should accompany us to the confines of the *Mok-mai* territory where people would probably be sent from *Monay* to meet us. The *Ban-lome* *Thoo-gyee* was not to be found in the morning, and we proceeded without him. On reaching *Monay* we were obliged to inquire our way to the place that had been recommended as encamping ground by our guide from *Mok-mai*; no one was inclined to give any information, and it was not till after many inquiries we met one man civil enough to point it out to us. We had scarcely halted when we were surrounded by some hundreds of people, and the same scene of

shouting, indignity and insult was repeated as at *Mok-mai*. I got the small tent pitched and endeavoured by shutting the windows to escape, but in vain; they held them up and shouted more furiously. I sent the Shan interpreter with some of the most respectable traders to the *Tso-boa* to report my arrival, the purport of my visit, to complain of my reception, and to request protection from the insults of the mob. They were stopped by the *Tseet-kay* whose house they had to pass; he questioned them in most overbearing manner as to who they were, where they came from, and what brought them here; they endeavoured to satisfy him on all these points and explain the reason the letters were not addressed to him; they asked permission to see the *Tso-boa*, and requested protection from the mob. He immediately sent out one or two *Toung-hmoos* and some peons, with ratans which they seemed practised in using, to keep the rabble off the tent. He told my people I should not see the *Tso-boa* till he was perfectly satisfied with the objects of my visit, said we had no right to come this road, that "BURNES" was in *Ava*, and if we wished to come we should have gone to *Ava* for permission. After a good deal more in the same strain he concluded by saying—"Well he shall see the *Tso-boa* to-morrow." In the evening *MENG-NAY-MYO-YADZA-NARATA* the chief secretary came out to my tent to inquire further the object of my visit, and was much more friendly than I expected from the *Tseet-kay-dau's* reception of my people. I gave him all the information he wished; he had been a sort of adjutant-general to *MAHA-NAY-MYO* the general of the Shan troops employed about *Prome* during the late war. After a long conversation we parted very great friends, and he continued to be most friendly and attentive during the whole of my stay. On the following morning he sent for the Shan interpreter and several messages passed regarding my reception by the chiefs. It was proposed I should first go to the *youn* where the lesser officers would be assembled; that I should there take off my shoes and wait till a report was made to the *Tseet-kay*, when he would send and call me to his house. I objected to the whole arrangement and told them that in *Ava* I never took off my shoes but in the palace, the houses of the princes or at the *Hloot-dau* where I sat on an equality with the *Woon-gyees* and *Atween-woons*. I acquainted him that as my letter was to the *Tso-boa* I should wish to deliver it in person to him; but the *Tseet-kay* being the higher authority I wished first to see and be guided by him, as you had commissioned me to open a friendly intercourse with this country whoever was at the head of the government. *MENG-NAN-MYO* returned a message to say he would propose, if I wished it, that I

should see the whole of the military officers and the Tso-boa at once at the *youn*. The fact of my having been in *Ava* at once prevented their saying any thing more about the shoes ; to this proposition I immediately acceded as it got over the difficulty of having the letter to the inferior authority, but on sending the Shan interpreter in the evening with my acquiescence, MENG-NAY-MYO was from home. Next day nothing was done. The Tseet-kay said he would consult with the other chiefs and let me know. The following day I sent to learn their determination and was told I should see the Tso-boa and all the military chiefs that day at the *youn*. I consequently took the letter and presents with me. I was not requested to remove my shoes but was obliged to sit with my own coolies, servants, and the people of the town, outside the *Coon-tseen* (a plank about a foot and a half high which separates the centre from the outer part of the house) within which the Tseet-kay-dau-gyee, second Tseet-kay, two Nakans and two Bodhayeas were seated. My friend MENG-NAY-MYO seated himself by me and the Tseet-kay-dau-gyee was seated close to me, separated only by the "*Coon-tseen*." I now begged personally to explain the reason of your having written to the Tso-boa direct, and hoped the mistake would not be allowed to have any weight against our good intentions and wish to strengthen the friendship which had so long existed between the two countries, which was the sole intent of my mission, by opening the nearest route between the British possessions on the coast and this place, &c. &c. I concluded by expressing my wish to deliver the letter in the presence of the assembled officers to its address. The Tseet-kay then took it from me, told me the Tso-boa was not present (I had mistaken the second Tseet-kay for him), and commenced his conversation in a most overbearing strain which he kept up during the whole time it lasted ; told me I had no right to come here without an order from the king, through BURNEY at *Ava*, said he was the Bo-hmoo-meng-tha's substitute who represented the king here ; he incredulously asked if you did not know the nature of the government here, said I knew nothing and much to the same effect. I told him the treaties of *Yan-da-boo* and *Ava* stipulated for the free passage of traders into all parts of the kingdom : it was with a view to facilitate trade, equally advantageous to both countries or more in their favour, that I had come so toilsome a march, and little expected such a reception. I complained of his having deceived me by the promise of seeing the Tso-boa ; he told me the treaty did not say a word about my coming to *Monay* and that he had never said I should see the Tso-boa. I requested that as he had received the Tso-boa's letter, he would give me the permission therein re-

quested to proceed to *Ava* to acquaint Col. BURNEY, for the information of the court of *Ava*, with the result of my endeavours to open the gold and silver road through the *Karian* country. He replied "Oh yes, oh yes, go, go." The whole tenor of his conversation had been most discourteous, and I said I thought the sooner I went the better, and wished to start in two or three days. The first Na-kan then addressed me with much civility and asked if I did not wish to see the Tso-boa; I said most certainly. that had been the original purport of my visit, but that it depended on the "Tsect-kay-dau gyee" to whom the king had confided the supreme authority here. This seemed to please him, he said "Ah that is a proper answer." The Na-kan again said, "Why you are only just come amongst us and are already talking of leaving us; you must stay with us a little while, it will be necessary to get permission from *Ava* "for you to proceed." I said such was my wish, and that it was with the intent that I should express your wish also to be on the most friendly terms, but as yet I had no reason to believe I was a welcome visitor, and wished to be allowed to proceed without waiting a reference to *Ava* which could only sanction my proceeding, as I dreaded being caught in the rains on account of the people with me having no shelter. The Tseet-kay said sneeringly, "he calls himself 'tsia-woon' (a doctor) and is afraid of dying," of which speech I took no notice.

The Na-kan said I had taken them by surprise, that they had intended me to live in a brick building on the other side of the town. The Tseet-kay interposed and said I might live where I pleased. I asked his advice regarding the best course for traders to take; he said traders had come here before my visit and would continue to do so, that no one prevented them from trading, they might either sell the things where they were, or go to the bazar with them. I repeated my request that if they were satisfied with my intentions, I might see the Tso-boa, and after some conference amongst themselves, it was agreed I should see him at the *youn* on Monday (the next day but one). I requested the Tseet-kay to take charge of the presents which he refused to do, saying they were not for him; told me to take them away and bring them on Monday. I objected to this as dragging them about the town would be disrespectful to you, and told him that they had been brought at his request, which he denied, though the bearer of his message to that effect was at my elbow; he however at last took a list of them and gave them in charge to a "Tyke-tsoe," and, took my leave. In the evening MENG-NAY-MYO who has throughout evinced a kind and conciliatory disposition, came to my tent with

two of the Tseet-kay's sons, probably to see how I was satisfied with my reception. I told him that I had conversed with Burmans of all ranks from the king downwards, and had never been addressed as I had to-day; that it was evidently more to their advantage than ours that trade, which was the greatest source of prosperity to all countries, should be opened between us, that it was a bad return for your friendly intentions, and that if the tenor of the conversation on Monday was the same as it had been to-day, however sorry I might be, I saw no alternative but to return by the route I had come and report my reception to you, when the king would be made acquainted with it. He said this was true, but that he had spoken to the Tseet-kay (with whom he is connected by marriage and had great influence) and assured me I should not again have reason to complain, and begged me to say no more about it: when his visit had lasted about an hour, he took his leave. On Monday I sent the Shan interpreter to the Tseet-kay to remonstrate against being seated outside the "*Coon-tseen*," and to request him to send and to let me know when they were ready to receive me at the *youn*. He was for the first time exceedingly civil, requested him to tell me they were here amongst a people of a different nation from themselves, that the customs were different from those of *Ava*, that the Tso-boa would also be seated outside, and that he would send and let me know when they were ready at the *youn*, which he did at half-past nine, and I proceeded there accompanied by the MENG-NAY-MYO as before. All the military chiefs were assembled and in half an hour, which was employed in friendly conversation, the Tso-boa with four gold chuttahs, preceded by a guard, arrived and seated himself by me outside the "*Coon-tseen*." He is about 68 years of age, and of the most mild and gentlemanly manners of any Burman I have seen, tall, and fair even for a Shan. I again explained the mistake of the letter and your wishes for a friendly intercourse, and for his and the "Tseet-kay's" protection and assistance to our people coming here to trade, promising a continuation of the same encouragement to his people they had hitherto received at *Maulmain*, and regretted we had seen none of them for the last two years. I said you had heard the *Young-ngoo* road was unsafe to travel, and had dispatched me to open the road through the *Ka-reen-nee* country, which I had succeeded in doing, and hoped the intercourse would now be uninterrupted. I delivered the letter which the "Tseet-kay" had returned me, and a list of the presents was read, and they were laid before him: he replied that it was well, that he was glad to see me, but as he was subject to *Ava*, the letter and presents must be sent there; and I must

wait till permission for me to proceed was obtained from thence, which he thought would be the best course for us all as he could not take on himself to allow me to go on. I remonstrated with all the arguments I could think of against such a delay, but without success. The conversation then became general, principally on geography, the relative power of different states, and the difference of European and Burman customs, on all of which subjects except the last they are profoundly ignorant. The whole interview was conducted in the most friendly manner, and it was difficult to believe the Tsect-kay to be the same person whom I had met here only two days before. On the following day a report was made of my arrival here, the number of people and amount of merchandize to the "Hloot-dau" at *Ava*. The letter and presents were forwarded to the king and an answer expected in 20 days. I embraced the opportunity to write to the resident a short account of my route so far, and complained of my reception. On the 1st of March I waited on the Tseet-kay at his own house, and used all my endeavours to remove any remaining suspicions he might entertain as to the motive of my visit, and I have every reason to believe I was perfectly successful. He promised every facility to our people trading; said they had better expose some of their things at our encampment where they had a large double zeyat; send some of their people about the town with others, and on market days, which were held every fifth day at one or other of the surrounding villages, they could carry a portion of them out. He promised that there should be no duty levied this time, but probably in future he should be ordered to stamp the goods and levy 10 per cent. as at *Rangoon*. I reminded him of the difference of land and water carriage, the difficulty of the road and great advantage to the purchaser in point of price, &c. He promised in case it was proposed, to use his influence to prevent so heavy a charge. There was a good deal of conversation on other subjects and my visit was altogether satisfactory, my reception civil, kind and conciliatory. I had once to complain of one of the Bhodayea's interfering with the "Poe-zas" (shroffs) which only required mentioning to be redressed, and from this time our intercourse was frequent and most friendly.

On the following day I had a very civil message from the Tso-boa, expressive of his happiness at my visit, and wished to be hospitable, but from my not having brought any letter to the military chiefs he could not be so much so as he wished. He sent me five baskets of rice and forty-eight tickals of coarse silver for my expences, which I was obliged to accept. He wished me to move into the town, but on look-

at the place he intended for me I told him I preferred remaining where I was, and he had huts built for my people near my tent. The traders were in a large zeyat 50 or 60 yards off. Between this day and the 25th I called on all the officers who had met me at the *youn*, and my reception by all of them was civil and friendly.

With the exception of the Tseet-kay and Meng-nay-myo, whose houses are large and commodious, they are worse lodged than the native officers in *Maulmain* and *Tavoy*, or indeed than some of the Thoo-gyees of our villages. I applied once again through MENG-NAY-MYO to the Tseet-kay to see the Tso-boa, if he saw no objection; he gave an evasive answer and as my visit was not returned by any of the officers except MENG-NAY-MYO, my visits were necessarily confined to the Tseet-kay (whom I saw frequently) and him, at his house. I met amongst others the Tseet-kay of Kiang Tung, and some Shan officers of that town who had been sent by the Tso-boa last year, and endeavoured to open a communication with *Maulmain*; but after being detained nine months at *Zimmay* and treated with neglect by the Chow Houa of that place they were refused permission to pass through the *Zimmay* territory. They expressed themselves much delighted at the mission of Lieut. McLEOD. They were on their way to *Ava* with the gold and silver flowers forming annual tribute, and we ultimately entered *Ava* together. On the 8th March we heard the first report of the prince SARAWATTIE's rebellion. It was brought from *Ava* in six days by special messenger; it was stated that his quarrel was entirely with the queen's brother. The Tseet-kay was desired to keep the country quiet, as it was likely every thing would be settled in a few days by the prince's capture. The impression of the non-official people I conversed with was, from the first, that unless the queen's brother was given up to him he would have both the power and inclination to take him by force, and the wishes of the people were all in his favour.

The second Bodhayea sent his brother to request me to make his house my own and come and see him frequently, to which I objected as he had not returned my first visit, which accords with the Burman custom, as well as with ours; and they are the last people in the world to whom concessions of this kind can be made. He communicated my message to his brother, who said I was right, and that he would speak to the Tseet-kay on the subject, which he did, and we afterwards repeatedly exchanged visits. Some of the town people came almost daily to my tent; amongst others some Chinamen, residents here, whom I urged to press their countrymen to push on to *Maulmain*; they told me that three or four of them had gone this year to see the state of

the *Maulmain* market, and if a favourable report was made we might expect to see more of them next year. On the 25th I was sent for by the Tseet-kay to the *yom* where I found all the officers assembled. Dispatches had been received from *Ava* containing amongst other things my leave to proceed, orders that I should be treated with attention: a suitable guard given for my protection should I wish to go on in the present unsettled state of the country, and I believe orders also, that I should be allowed to visit the Tso-boa. I received letters from Col. BURNBY giving an account of the dreadfully disturbed state of the country, and stating that if the present king should surround *Ava*, which was more than probable, he should be obliged to remove the residency to *Rangoon*; under these circumstances he left it to my own discretion whether I would come on or return by the way I came. Next morning I called on the Tseet-kay and intimated my determination to proceed, leaving the merchants, whose property would have ensured our being plundered, to his care; he told me the Shan countries through which my march lay till within four or five days of *Ava*, were still quiet, but that below the pass I should find every village a nest of robbers, and the road very unsafe. He promised to furnish me with a guard of 20 or 30 men, and some coolies to assist my own to enable us to proceed with greater dispatch, but strongly advised me to return by the way I had come. As I had however determined to proceed, he begged me to put off my departure for a few days; that the party with the tribute from MENG-LEN-GYEE had crossed the *Thalween* and were daily expected, and on their arrival I could go in company with them and the *Kiang-tung* people, who only waited for them; our party would then amount to three or four hundred men, the guard with which added to mine would ensure our safety. In the meantime it was determined I should call on the Tso-boa on the following morning, which I did in company with MENG-NAY-MYO. His palace which is within a wooden sort of stockade, is of considerable size with a gilt spire of five roofs, surmounted by a "Tee" or umbrella, as in the palace at *Ava*. The audience hall is large and splendidly gilded about the throne, on which were placed the "*Meng-hmeauk-ta-ra-nga-bah*" (five ensigns of royalty), and on each side a white umbrella. He was seated at the edge of the raised floor on which it stands; his son and son-in-law were seated on each side a little in front, and below; I had a seat placed between them. The officers and people about were seated behind me on the floor; my reception was most kind and friendly—he expressed his happiness at my visit and his wish to encourage intercourse, but was so perfectly dependent on *Ava* that he could only act

on orders from thence. My audience lasted about an hour and a half, and when I left him he gave in return for the presents I had brought him, a pair of grey ponies.

On the 30th March I called on the Tseet-kay. As nothing had been heard of the MENG-LEN-GYEE party I urged my immediate departure, as in case of being stopped by the robber chiefs on the way to *Ava* and obliged to return by the way we came, we should be thrown into the rains; some of the hills between the *Thalween* and MENG-LEN-GYEE would be nearly impassable, and the jungles there at that season are so unhealthy that on my last mission out of between fifty and sixty people, myself and two others only escaped fever either on the road or after our return. He begged me not to suppose he wished to throw any obstacles in my way, but advised me again to return by the road I had come; as my mind was made up to go on, he wished me to wait till the fifth or sixth of next month, when a part of the Shan contingent of troops furnished by the Tso-boa are to march on to *Ava*, (the son of the late Yea-woon of *Rangoon* having come in six days from the capital with an order to that effect,) and with that force we should be too powerful for any of the parties on the road.

On the 2nd of April I received the Tso-boa's letter, but as there was a paragraph stating that in future, traders should not come here without a pass from *Ava*, I waited on the Tseet-kay with the treaty of *Ava*, and pointed out that by the first article of that treaty, which an order of the king could not do away with, British subjects had a right to trade to any part of the empire. He immediately promised that it should be altered as it had been written in misconception of the orders from *Ava*, to which Col. BURNEY had agreed, that no officer should enter the kingdom in this direction without leave first obtained from *Ava*. He informed me that orders had come to day for the Tso-boa to proceed in person with 1,500 men.

On the 3rd I called on the Tso-boa. There is a decided disinclination for the service. He has however determined to leave this on the 6th, expressing himself pleased with the arrangement of my accompanying him, and promising all the assistance in his power on the road. Some of the most adventurous of the traders had determined to accompany me; I however dissuaded them and desired them to remain together. On the 5th when I called on the Tseet-kay to take leave, I took the chief of the traders with me and recommended him to his care, which he promised and we parted good friends. He made a speech which he intended for a sort of an apology for his first reception of me, and hoped he should see me here again.

On the 6th I started for *Ava* after a detention at *Monay* of forty-two days. We halted the first day at a small nullah about two miles from *Monay*, and in the afternoon the Tso-boa came out with his men to some zeyats and pagodas about half a mile nearer the town. MENG-NAY-MYO accompanied me to the halting-place, and the Tso-boa's son, the Tso-boa, Tseet-kay and the second Bodhaya visited me in the evening.

On the 7th we made a march of twelve miles to *Hay peck*: some of the troops marched long before day-light: the Tso-boa passed my tent about six o'clock, and at seven I followed and reached the ground at half-past eleven. A square of low sheds had been erected for the troops, huts for the Tso-boa and his immediate followers in the centre, and a spot was pointed out to me to the westward of the enclosure for pitching the tents; boughs were furnished for the elephants and grass for the horses; the troops continued dropping in ten or twelve at a time till dark, they are said to amount to 1000 men, one-half armed with muskets the other with spears. In case of an attack, many of the muskets must prove nearly as dangerous to themselves as to the enemy. The few who can muster horses are allowed to ride, altogether without order and mixed with the infantry. Each foot soldier also carries over his shoulder two cowie baskets, and his musket or spear tied to the bearing pole. They march without order, firing off their muskets occasionally along the whole line of the march: all their provisions and ammunition must be carried in their cowie baskets, as except a few coolies of the Tso-boa's, and one or two other chiefs, there are no carriers with the force. I visited the Tso-boa in the evening. In this way we marched till the 16th April, through a hilly undulating country, the long faces of the undulations sweeping away almost as smooth as the surface of a snow wreath, with small abrupt rugged rocky hills and ranges projecting as it were through them to a height of from 20 to 150 feet or more; the soil exceedingly poor, almost bare of trees or brushwood, much of it brought under cultivation for dry grain, though the population is scanty. We passed one or two large towns, and the *Pon* and *Borathat* rivers about three and a half feet deep at this season. The Tso-boa and a part of the force frequently started long before day-light, and the whole was never up till dark. When our encampment lay at a distance from any village the force immediately constructed their sheds of boughs of trees in the same order as on our first encampment, completing the square as they come up.

On the 16th, after daily hearing reports of the most contradictory

and incredible nature, a messenger from his daughter, one of the queens, reached the Tso-boa. He stated that the prince of *Sarawattie* had taken *Ava* without resistance, and put to death three or four of those most inimical to him ; put all the ministers of the old government in irons, and degraded the queen and turned her out of the palace. The Tso-boa is ordered to return to *Monay* and wait for orders to approach the capital, and as all the Tso-boas will probably be called on to bring their congratulations and presents to the new government, he expects to be at this halting-place again in a month. The whole country between this and *Ava* is in the possession of bands of robbers from 100 to 150 in number, and all communication even between one village and another is stopped. The Tso-boa's messengers though wearing the prince's badge, were stripped of every article even to their patsos or cloths. I called on the Tso-boa late in the evening, he was very anxious that I should return with him to *Monay*, where the acquaintance we had formed on the march would give him a plea for paying me more attention than he had ventured to do whilst at *Monay* before. As I was now so near the end of a long and toilsome march I objected to return ; begged him either to send a party strong enough for my protection with me, according to the orders of the late government, or leave me with the Tso-boa of *Neaung Eue* who is one march in advance of us with 500 men, and is to retreat on this place to-day, and return to *Neaung Eue* about 15 miles from this to-morrow. As the government had been changed he reasonably enough objected to sending a party, but agreed I should remain with the *Neaung Eue* Tso-boa, to whom he would introduce me ; either till I received an answer to a letter I had just delivered him for Col. BURNEY, or till he should repossess this way for *Ava*, when he would send to *Neaung Eue*, and we could again proceed together. About midnight an officer came to the tent and told me he had been desired by the *Neaung Eue* Tso-boa to wait on me to know at what time I would start, as he was appointed to shew me the way to *Neaung Eue* to-morrow, and that the Tso-boa had desired him to say, at the request of his elder brother of *Monay*, he should be happy to shew me every attention. At day-light on the 17th the *Monay* troops commenced their retreat by a road lying a little north of the one we had come by, and soon afterwards my guide having made his appearance, I started for *Neaung Eue*, where I arrived the same night.

I called on all the influential people ; viz. the Tso-boa, his two brothers and his son. The brothers returned my visit and sent me several civil messages. They and the Tso-boa also were civil when-

ever I called, but on the whole there was little cordiality in my reception; perhaps the uncertainty regarding the views of the new government were enough to account for this, and we had no communication with the capital for upwards of three weeks. The principality of *Neaung-eue* or *Neaung Sheway*, though reduced within very narrow limits, was at no distant period one of the largest of the nine Tso-boa-ships; the extensive territory of *Laygea* lately elevated to that dignity formed a part of it. The present Tso-boa, a dull, heavy, vulgar-looking man of about 45 years of age, has been the cause of much distress and misery to the people by a feud of two years with his uncle, during which there were repeated battles fought in the sequestered corners of this valley, and about the banks of a famous and very beautiful lake which occupies about 40 square miles of its southern extremity; he at last succeeded in defeating him (his uncle); but the population of the district was much reduced by emigration of many of the inhabitants to districts a little less harrassed: for they are seldom perfectly quiet. He was involved in debt by the bribes he was obliged to make at court to procure his investiture; to liquidate which he has ever since exercised a system of extortion on the people which has rendered him very unpopular.

On the 13th of May after an anxious detention of a month I received the expected order from *Ava*, authorizing me to proceed, and a suitable guard to be furnished me, which the resident had obtained with difficulty after several days' discussion with the new government, (during which the king first intimated his determination not to abide by the treaty of *Yan-da-boo* or *Ava*); the order had been sent through head-quarters at *Monay*, and as the party from *Keintaung* with the annual tribute was expected to reach *Pochla* (which is one long day's march from this) in four or five days after the order would reach me, the Tset-kay sent a message by the people who brought it, advising me to join them at that place, when we should form a party of nearly 200 people, and strong enough to bid defiance to any of the marauding parties which still infested the road. On the morning of the 18th, I left *Neaung-eue*, but owing to the unmanageableness of one of the elephants and the loss of two of our horses, I did not reach *Pochla* till next night, where we found the Shans had arrived in the morning. The following day continued our march for *Ava*. On the 23rd at the village of *Yea-guan* we met the *Shoe-hlan-bo* who has been appointed governor of the Shan countries under the new government, in the room of *Mengmyat-boo* the king's brother; as his is the supreme authority now throughout the whole country from *Nat-tike* to *Kein-young-gyee*,

I halted here one day to have an interview with him, and endeavoured to procure his interest in favor of a free communication with the provinces. My reception was civil, and he professed himself an advocate for the freedom of intercourse now commenced. At his earnest request I sold him one of the elephants. My visit lasted about an hour, and at parting he gave me a *Patsoe*. On the 25th we descended the *Nat-tike* pass, the longest and most laborious pass in the Burman dominions, or that is known to exist in any of the neighbouring countries. The foot of this pass opens into the valley of the *Irrawaddie*, called the *Lap-dau* or royal fields, a dead level which reaches, at this end where it is narrowest, to the *Tset-kyne* hills at *Ava*. A little more to the southward it runs still further west to the hills on the frontier between *Ava* and *Monepoor*. The descent raised the thermometer 12 or 14°. From this to the capital had been, and still was at the time of our passing, one scene of pillage and robbery; and I had much difficulty in getting the Shans to start before day-light, which was now necessary from the heat, though I believe our party was numerically strong enough to frighten any of the bands of robbers; however in point of fact it was almost defenceless from the order or disorder of our march, and the difficulty of getting at any ammunition beyond what the guard might have in their muskets. We however crossed the plain in four days and reached *Ava* on the 28th of May without molestation. The nature of the country from *Neaung-eue* to the top of the *Nat-tike* pass is a good deal of the same character as from *Monay* to *Neaung-eue*. The road may be in some places a little better and the population a little more numerous. From the bottom of the pass to *Ava* though the soil is not rich it is well watered by several large streams, and being nearly level it is favorable to irrigation, and is as well peopled as any part of the kingdom, except the angle between the junction of the *Kin-dween* and *Irrawaddie*. The road all the way from *Monay* to *Ava*, with the exception of the pass, is very tolerable and well frequented. On the following day I waited on the king with the resident and his assistant. As there was no business transacted this day, he was affable and pleasant. He bought my remaining elephants at prime cost, and presented each of us with a small ruby ring, the first he had become possessed of since his seizing the throne. I remained in *Ava* till the 17th of June when I left with the resident, his assistant, and all the *American* missionaries whom the king had prohibited from continuing their labours. From the strength of the monsoon our passage down the river was tedious and we did not reach *Rangoon* till the 6th of July.

III.—*Comparison of Indo-Chinese Languages, by the Rev. N. BROWN, American Missionary stationed at Sadiyd at the north-eastern extremity of Assám.*

Considerable time has elapsed since a proposal was made through the *Christian Observer* for collecting short vocabularies of all the languages between India and China. In pursuance of the plan then proposed, have been received, through the kindness of several literary gentlemen, vocabularies of *twenty-seven* languages, specimens of which are prepared for insertion in the periodical above named; but as the subject is equally interesting to the general student and philologist as to the missionary, I have thought a copy of the paper would not prove unacceptable to your pages*. For *twelve* of these vocabularies, viz. the *Manipuri, Songpá, Kapwí, Kóreng, Marám, Champhung, Luhuppa, Northern, Central and Southern T'angkul, Khoibá,* and *Muring*, I am indebted to the indefatigable exertions of Capt. GORDON, Political Agent at Manipur, author of the *Manipuri Dictionary*; to the Rev. C. GUTZLAFF for vocabularies of the *Anamese, Japanese and Corean*; to the Rev. J. I. JONES, Bangkok, for that of the *Siamese*; for the *Gáro*, to Mr. J. STRONG, Sub-Assistant to the Governor General's Agent for A'sám, and to Rev. J. RAE, of Gowaháti, for the *A'ká*. Most of the remaining languages given in the table have been written down from the pronunciation of natives residing in the neighbourhood of Sadiyá.

Although I have as yet received vocabularies of but a small portion of the languages originally contemplated, I have thought it advisable to give specimens of such as have been obtained, hoping that others may be induced to extend the comparison by publishing specimens of other languages†. The names selected are those of the most common objects, and may therefore be regarded as the earliest terms in every language, and such as were least liable to be supplanted by foreign words.

The words given in the table are written according to the Romanizing system; and although there may be some slight variations in the sounds of particular letters, in consequence of the vocabularies having been made out by different persons, yet it is believed they will be found sufficiently uniform for all the purposes of general comparison.

I now proceed to give such remarks upon the several languages contained in the table, as have been furnished by the individuals engaged in compiling the vocabularies.

* We need not assure the author, to whose studies we have already been more than once indebted, how acceptable the comparison he has undertaken is to our own pages; but it may encourage his inquiries and stimulate his zeal to hear that every letter from Paris, where philology seems to have now the most successful cultivation, presses this very object upon our notice.—ED.

† Mr. TREVELYAN has kindly favoured us with copies of the printed vocabulary, which we shall lose no time in forwarding to those interested in this train of research, especially to obtain lists of the hill dialects of all parts of India.—ED.

I.—*Bangali* and *A'samese*. These languages being derived from the *Sanskrit*, possess a close affinity to each other. It appears from the table that above six-tenths of the most common words are identical, except with slight variations of pronunciation. The most important of these are the substitution of *s*, in *A'samese*, for the *Sanskrit ch*, and a guttural *h* for the *Sanskrit s* and *sh*. The vowels have also undergone considerable variations. The grammatical peculiarities of the two languages are considerably unlike. In the inflection of nouns and verbs, they both bear a strong resemblance to the Latin and Greek languages, with which they have a large number of words in common. The numerals are evidently derived from the same source with the Greek.

The *A'samese* possesses six cases of nouns corresponding to those of the Latin, to which may be added a seventh, or *Locative* case, expressed in English by the prepositions *at* or *in*. The terminations of the cases are as follows :

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
<i>Nom.</i>		<i>Nom.</i> hoṅt,—bilák, or bur.
<i>Gen.</i>	r.	<i>Gen.</i> hoṅtor,—bilákor, &c.
<i>Dat.</i>	lui.	<i>Dat.</i> hoṅtolui.
<i>Acc.</i>	k.	<i>Acc.</i> hoṅtok.
<i>Voc.</i>	as the <i>Nom.</i>	<i>Voc.</i> as the <i>Nom.</i>
<i>Abl.</i>	re.	<i>Abl.</i> hoṅtore.
<i>Loc.</i>	t.	<i>Loc.</i> hoṅtot.

A peculiar feature of the *A'samese* is the use of two pronouns for the second person, according as the person addressed is superior or inferior to the speaker. This distinction is also marked by a different termination of the verb, thus :

<i>Singular.</i>		
<i>First person,</i>	Moi máruṅ,	I strike.
<i>Sec. person,</i>	Toi máro,	Thou strikest.
<i>Do. (honorific,)</i>	Túmi márá,	You strike.
<i>Third person,</i>	Hí máre,	He strikes.
<i>Plural.</i>		
<i>First person,</i>	Ámi máruṅ,	We strike.
<i>Sec. person,</i>	Tohoṅt máro,	You strike.
<i>Do. (honorific,)</i>	Tumulák márá,	Ye strike.
<i>Third person,</i>	Hihonte, or hibiláke, máre,	They strike.

From this specimen, it may be seen that the verb undergoes no alteration on account of number.

Adjectives, in *A'samese*, have no declension, nor are they varied to denote the degrees of comparison. These are expressed by means of the suffix *kui*, *than*, added to the locative case of nouns ; as, *íatkui dángor*, *great [er] than this* ; *ataitkui dángor*, *great [er] than all*, i. e. *the greatest*. The same particle is also used in changing adjectives to adverbs, like the syllable *ly*, in English ; thus, *khor*, *swift* ; *khorkui*, *swiftly*.

Nouns, in whatever case, almost invariably precede the verbs with which

they are connected. From the variety of cases, it will readily be inferred that the use of prepositions, or particles having the force of prepositions, is seldom required. When such particles are used, they must invariably follow the nouns which they govern. The genitive case always precedes the noun by which it is governed.

II.—*Siamese, Khamti, and other branches of the Tai.* We have seen that the Bangáli and Asámese, in their grammatical forms, bear a close resemblance to the family of European languages. We come now to a class of monosyllabic languages evidently belonging to the Chinese stock. In these languages the nouns and verbs uniformly consist (except where foreign terms have been introduced), of monosyllabic roots, which undergo no change on account of case, mood or tense. These accidents are expressed by means of particles, generally following, but in some cases preceding, the nouns or verbs which they modify. A striking peculiarity, which, so far as we have had opportunity to examine, extends to all monosyllabic languages, is the variety of *intonations*, by which sounds organically the same are made to express entirely different meanings. The first division of tones is into the *rising* and *falling*, according as the voice slides up or down during the enunciation of a syllable. This variety of tone is employed, in English, mostly for the purposes of emphasis and euphony; but in Tai, Chinese, Barmese, &c. such a variation of tone produces different words, and expresses totally different ideas. Thus in Tai, *má* signifies *a dog*, *má* (the stroke under the *m* denoting the falling tone) signifies *to come*. In Barmese, *lé* is *air* but *lé* is *a bow*; *myen* is the verb *to see*, while *myen* denotes *a horse*.

Another distinction of tone, which obtains nearly or quite universally, in monosyllabic languages, is the *abrupt termination*, or a sudden cessation of voice at the end of a syllable. This is denoted by a dot under the final letter. Like the other variations of tone, it entirely changes the meaning of the words to which it is applied. Thus, taking for illustration the syllables above mentioned, *má*, in Tai, signifies *a horse*; in Barmese, *lé* signifies *to be acquainted with*; *myei*, *high*.

These two varieties of intonation are the most extensive and important; but several languages of the Chinese family make still more minute distinctions. The Chinese language itself is said to distinguish eight different tones; the Tai possesses five or six; the Karen an equal number; the Barmese only three, viz. the rising, falling, and abrupt.

The *Siamese, Laos, Shyan, Khamti and Ahom*, are all merely dialects of the same original language, which is called *TAI*; and prevails through a wide tract of country, extending from Siam to the valley of the Brahmaputra. I have inserted in the table specimens of the Khamti and Siamese, spoken at the two extremities, between which the difference will naturally be greater than between the dialects spoken at any of the intermediate stations. Yet we find that upwards of nine-tenths of the fundamental words in these two dialects are the same, with but slight variations in the pronunciation. These variations are mostly confined to a few letters, viz.

ck, which the northern tribes change to *ts*; *d*, for which they use *l* or *n*; *r*, which becomes *h*; and *ua*, which they exchange for long *ó*.

Different systems of writing have been introduced to express the sounds of the *Tai*; the Khamti and Shyán alphabets are evidently derived from the Barmese; the Láos is nearly related to the Barmese, but more complete and better adapted to the wants of the language than the Shyán; while the Siamese character bears only a remote resemblance to the Barmese.

All the dialects of the *Tai* have nearly the same grammatical construction. The arrangement of words in sentences is, for the most part, as in English; unlike other eastern languages, where the words are generally placed in an inverted order. The nominative precedes the verb; the verb usually precedes the objective. Prepositions always precede the nouns which they govern. The possessive case follows the noun by which it is governed, as *mū man*, the *hand* [of] *him*, i. e. *his hand*. Adjectives follow the nouns which they qualify.

A striking feature in many eastern languages both monosyllabic and polysyllabic, is the use of *numeral affixes*, or, as they have sometimes been called, *generic particles*. These particles are affixed to numeral adjectives, and serve to point out the genus to which the preceding substantive belongs. Thus in *Tai*, the expression for *two elephants* would be, *tsáng song tó*, *elephants two bodies*. When the number is *one*, the generic particle precedes the numeral, as *tsáng tó nüng*, *one elephant*. In Barmese, the generic particles invariably follow the numerals, as *lú ta-yauk*, *man one person*; *lú nhi-yauk*, *men two persons*, i. e. *two men*.

III.—*A'ká* and *A'bor*. These languages have been but partially examined; it is evident, however, from the table, that they are closely allied to each other, nearly half the words being found alike in both. One-fifth of the words agree with the *Mishimí*; and a considerable number with the Barmese, Singpho and Manipur.

The *A'bors* occupy the lofty ranges of mountains on each side the river *Diháng*, or *Tsámpú*, and are probably very numerous. The *Miri* is a dialect of this language, which is spoken by the people of the plains; but is said not to be essentially different from the language of the highlands.

IV.—*Mishimí*. This language is spoken by the inhabitants of the mountainous regions on the river *Diháng*, east of the *Abor* country. Little is known of them. There are three principal tribes, the *Mdí Mishimís*, the *Táron* or *Digárú Mishimís*, and the *Maiyí* or *Meme Mishimís*. Their language is substantially the same. It is distinguished by several very peculiar tones, and some of its consonants are extremely difficult of enunciation. In this respect it differs from the *Abor*, the sounds of which are easy and flowing.

V.—*Barmese*. This language is originally monosyllabic, although it now contains many polysyllabic words. These are mostly terms belonging to their religion, which have been introduced from the *Páli*, their sacred language. The Barmese delights in the multiplication of synonymous

words, which follow each other in close succession and serve to render many terms definite which would otherwise be ambiguous. Páli words are generally followed by their synonyms in the vulgar tongue. Thus the usual expression for *earth* is *pathawí myégyí*; *myégyí* (great earth) being the vulgar term, and *pathawí* the Páli or Sanskrit.

The order of arrangement in Barmese is almost directly the reverse of the English. As an example of this, take the following sentence: *He said, I am the voice of one crying, make straight in the wilderness the way of the Lord, as said the prophet Esaias.* The verse in Barman stands thus: *The prophet Esaias said as, The-Lord of the-way the-wilderness in straight make, crying one of the-voice I am, he said.*

In Barmese, the affixes to nouns, verbs and numerals, are very abundant, many of them merely euphonic. Great attention has been paid to euphony in the formation and cultivation of this language. This is particularly seen in the change of the hard consonants, *k, p, s, t*, to the corresponding soft letters, *g, b, z, and d*. Thus *E'ráwati* (the river) is invariably pronounced *E'ráwadi*, though written with a *t*; *Gotama* (their deity) is pronounced *Godama*, &c. All the affixes, whether of verbs, nouns, or numerals, beginning with a sharp consonant, universally exchange it for a soft one, except where the verb or noun itself ends in a sharp consonant, in which case euphony requires that the affix should begin with a sharp, as the enunciation of a flat and sharp together is peculiarly harsh and difficult. We also trace this principle in the Manipurí language, where the verbal affix is *ba*, unless the verb ends in one of the sharp consonants *k, t, or p*, when the affix is invariably *pa*. Capt. GORDON does not inform us whether this principle extends to the other affixes in Manipurí, but, from the similarity of the two languages, it seems not improbable that such may be the case.

VI.—*Karen*. I have been disappointed in the hope of obtaining a perfect vocabulary of this language. The few words inserted in the table will, however, give some idea of its affinities. It most resembles the Barmese and Manipurean dialects, though it is essentially different from either. Its tones are five; the same in number with those of the *Tui*. Several of them, however, appear to be different from those of any other tribe. No final consonants are allowed in *Karen*.

VII.—*Singpho* and *Jití*. The *Singpho* possesses many words in common with the *Abor*, the *Barmese*, and the *Manipurean* dialects. It is the language of extensive tribes, occupying the northern portions of the *Barman* empire. The intonations are similar to the *Barmese*, and its grammatical construction is almost precisely the same. It is peculiar for its combinations of consonants, many of which would at first sight appear quite unpronounceable to a European. It doubtless belongs to the monosyllabic stock of languages.

The *Jitís* are a small tribe who formerly occupied the highlands in the northern part of *Barmah*, but have been driven from their country by the *Singphos*. The tribe is now nearly extinct. Their language appears to

have been a dialect of the Singpho, seven-tenths of their vocables being found in that language.

VIII.—*Gáro*. For a vocabulary of the language of this singular people we are indebted to Mr. STRONG, of Goalpára, who from frequent intercourse with this tribe, has had opportunity to become well acquainted with their language and customs. In the specimen given in the table, the orthography of a few words has been slightly altered, so as to conform to the Romanizing system. The language appears to have considerable relation to the Singpho and Jili. It is difficult to decide from the specimens before us, whether it is to be ranked with the monosyllabic or polysyllabic languages. It probably belongs to the latter. The Gáros inhabit an extensive range of hills below Gawaháti, and are in a completely savage state. So meagre is their language, that they have not even a term for *horse*, nor do they possess any knowledge of such an animal.

IX.—*Manipurí and neighbouring dialects*. The following very interesting account of the singular variety of languages spoken in the neighbourhood of Manipur, is copied from Capt. GORDON'S letter to Mr. TREVELYAN.

“ I send you specimens of (including the Manipurí) twelve of the numerous languages, or perhaps more properly, as respects many of them, dialects spoken within this territory. On examining PEMBERTON'S map, you will perceive that, beginning in the west with the *Songpá*, (here commonly confounded with the *Kapwí*, a much smaller tribe,) I have, in my course round the valley, reached the parallel of latitude from which I first set out, having described rather more than a semicircle. This is, however, but the inner of the two circles I propose completing, and until I have made some progress in my way round the outer one, I feel that I shall not be able to furnish satisfactory replies to the queries respecting particular tribes.

“ In several directions, but more especially in the north-east, I am given to understand the languages are so very numerous, that scarcely two villages are to be found in which they are perfectly similar. This, I apprehend, arises from the propensity to change inherent in all languages, and which, when left to operate unrestrained by the check which letters impose, soon creates gradually increasing differences of dialect amongst a people originally speaking the same language, but who have become disunited, and between whom little intercourse has afterwards subsisted. To the same cause is, I believe, attributed the great diversity of languages and dialects spoken by the aborigines of America, particularly in Brazil, where communities composed each of a small number of families are said to speak languages unintelligible to every tribe around them. Aware of this circumstance as respects a country more favorable to intercourse than the mountainous territory surrounding Manipur, I was not much surprised at finding instances of the same kind in this vicinity. The language spoken in *Champhung* is only understood by the thirty or forty families its inhabitants. The majority can speak more or less of Manipurí, or the languages of their more immediate neighbours ; but I am told that there

are individuals who require an interpreter in conversing with persons not of their own very limited community. Dialects so nearly similar as are those of the *Northern* and *Central Tánghkuls*, are generally intelligible to the adult male population on both sides. But the women (the two tribes in question seldom intermarry) and children, who rarely leave their homes, find much difficulty in making themselves understood. Neither of the tribes just named understand the language spoken by the *Southern Tánghkuls*, and that again differs as widely from the languages of the *Khoibús* and *Marings*. The southern Tánghkuls tell me that their language is spoken by the inhabitants of a large village named *Kanbí-maring*, situated somewhere to the westward of the northern extremity of the *Kabó* valley. I mention this to show why I as yet do not feel myself competent to give satisfactory replies to the queries concerning particular tribes. I however think I can discover a connection (I do not include the *Tai*) between all of the languages in this quarter that I have yet examined, sufficiently intimate to warrant me in assigning a common origin to the tribes by whom they are spoken. From these tribes, which I imagine to be the aborigines of the country, extending east and south-east from the Brahmaputra to China, I derive both the Barmese and the Manipurís. To the *Shyáns*, I assign a different origin."

X.—*Anamese* or *Cochin-chinese*. The vocabulary of this language has been furnished by Rev. Mr. GUTZLAFF, from whose letter are extracted the following additional particulars.

"The *Anamese* spoken in *Cochin-china* and *Tunkin* with very little difference, might be considered as a coarse dialect of the Chinese, if the sounds wherewith the characters are read were also current in the spoken language. But the oral dialect totally differs from that used in perusing the books in the Chinese character, and the construction likewise deviates materially. It is however monosyllabic; has intonations and all the characteristics of the Chinese, though the *Anamese* have fuller sounds, and use various letters and diphthongs which no Chinaman can pronounce correctly. The learning of the natives is entirely confined to Chinese literature, in the acquiring of which they are by no means celebrated. There exist a number of short-hand Chinese characters, which are used as syllabaries to express sounds without reference to their meaning; but they have not yet been reduced to a system, and are used in various ways. The language itself is spoken with a very shrill voice, and appears to a foreigner very uncouth. It bears only a slight resemblance to the Cambodian, but otherwise with no other dialect of the Eastern Peninsula*."

XI.—*Japanese*. Mr. GUTZLAFF says, "This language is spoken with very little variation, by about 20 millions of people, who inhabit the Japanese islands. It is polysyllabic, and only resembles the Chinese so far as it has adopted some words from that language, which are however

* We shall soon know more of this from the Bishop's dictionary, now nearly through the press.—ED.

changed, according to the organs of the natives, like the Latin and Greek words in our tongue. Having numerous inflections and a regular grammar, in a few points resembling the Mántchú, it is easier to express our ideas in it than in the Indo-Chinese languages. The Chinese character is universally read amongst the natives with a different sound and accent, more full and euphonical. For the common business of life, the Japanese use three different syllabaries, the *Katakana*, *Hirakana*, and *Imatskana*, which consist of certain Chinese contracted characters, and amount to 48. From hence it appears that all the radical syllables of the language are no more than 48, which by various combinations form all the words of one of the most copious languages on earth. Its literature is very rich. The Japanese have copied from and improved upon the Chinese, and have also availed themselves of the superiority of our European literature."

XII.—*Corean*. In regard to this language, Mr. GUTZLAFF makes the following remarks.

"*Corea* is little known, and the language still less. The collection of words here inserted was copied from MENHURST'S VOCABULARY. This nation has likewise adopted the Chinese character, and is in the possession of the same literature; but in point of civilization it is below its teachers. The Coreans have a syllabary of their own, far more intricate than the Japanese, and formed upon the principle of composition. It consists of few and simple strokes, and is not derived from the Chinese character. Fifteen consonants and eleven vowels are the elements, which form 168 combined sounds, the sum total of the syllabary. The influence of the Chinese Government in this country has been far greater than in Japan, and hence the language is far more tinged with the language of Han. There are a very great number of composita, of which the first syllable is native and the last the Chinese synonym, pronounced in the Corean manner. We have not been able to discover any declension, but it is not unlikely that it has a few inflections. Many words resemble the Japanese, and the affinity between these two nations is not doubtful. The language being polysyllabic, does not require any intonation, and if such exist, it has entirely escaped our notice."

I now proceed to give specimens of all the languages and dialects of which vocabularies have been received: to which I shall add a table showing the number of words per cent. which in any two languages agree, or are so similar as to warrant the conclusion that they are derived from the same source. It must be noted that the words are spelled according to the Romanized orthography. The vowels are sounded as follows:—

a as in <i>America</i> , woman.	á as in <i>far</i> , father.
e „ <i>men</i> .	é „ <i>they</i> .
i „ <i>pin</i> .	í „ <i>police</i> .
o „ <i>nor</i> , <i>not</i> .	ó „ <i>note</i> .
u „ <i>put</i> .	ú „ <i>rule</i> .
u „ <i>l'une</i> , (French.)	

The letter *h* is always used strictly as an aspirate, whether at the beginning of a syllable, or following another consonant. Thus *th* is sounded as

in priesthood, not as in *think*; sh as in *mi^hhap*, not as in *ship*: ph as in *uphold*, not as in *philosophy*. *Th* and *sh*, when used to express their English sounds as in *think*, *ship*, are printed in italics. The French nasal *u* (as in *enfant*) is expressed by *u*, with a dash underneath.

English.	Bangálí.	A'sámese.	Khamtí.	Siamese.
Air	báyu	botáh	lum	lóm
Ant	pipiliká	pórúá	mnt	not
Arrow	tir	káyr	lempün	luk son
Bird	pakhyi	sorai	nók	nók
Blood	rakta	tez	leüt	lüat
Boat	nauká	nau	heü	rüa
Bone	asthi	hár	núk	kra dók
Buffalo	mabish	móh	khwai	khwai
Cat	birál	mekári	miú	meau
Cow	garu	góru	ngó	ngóu
Crow	kák	kauri	ká	ká
Day	din	din	wan	wan
Dog	kukkur	kúkúr	má	má
Ear	karna	kán	hú	hú
Earth	máti	máti	lang nin	din
Egg	anda	kóui	khai	khai
Elephant	hasti	húti	tséug	chháng
Eye	chhakhyuh	sókú	tá	tá
Father	pitá	bupai	po	po
Fire	agni	jái	fai	fai
Fish	matsya	más	pá	plá
Flower	pu-hpá	phúl	nok	dok mai
Foot	pád, charan	bhóri	tin	tin
Goat	chhágál	sh, góli	pe	pe
Hair	kesh, chul	súli	phum	phóm
Hand	hát	hát	mü	mü
Head	mastak	múr	hó	hua
Hog	shúkar	gáhóri	mú	mú
Horn	shringa	hing	khau	khau
Horse	ghórá	ghórá	má	má
House	ghar	ghor	heün	rüan
Iron	lauha	lu	lék	lek
Leaf	pátá	pát	maü	bai
Light	dípti	pohor	leng	seng
Man	manushya	inánúh	kun	khón
Monkey	báuar	báudor	ling	ling
Moon	chandra	jun	leün	düan
Mother	janani	ai	me	me
Mountain	parbat	porbot	noi	phu khau
Mouth	mukh	múkh	pák	pák
Musquito	mashá	moh	yúng	yung
Name	nám	nám	tsü	chhü
Night	rátri	iáti	khün	khün
Oil	tail	tel	nam man	nam man
Plantain	kalá	kolá	kué	klui
River	nadí	nói	me nam	me nam
Road	rástá, bát	bát	táng	táng
Salt	laban	lun	kü	klüa
Skin	charma, chháí	shál	naug	nang
Sky	ákásb	ákáb	fá	fá
Snake	shánp	háp	ngú	ngú
Star	tárá	torá	náu	dáu
Stone	prastar	hil	hin	hin
Sun	súrjya	belí	wau	tawan
Tiger	bágh	bágh	seü	süa
Tooth	danta	dánt	khíú	fan
Tree	gáchh	gosh	tun	tón mai
Village	grám	gaun	mán	bán
Water	jal, pání	pání	nam	nam
Yam	álu	álu	hó man	hóa man

English.	A'ká.	A'bor.	Mishimi.	Barmese.	Karen.
Air	dorí	ásàr	árengá	lé	kali
Ant	tárák	táruk	árúang	payuetseik	tabrisá
Arrow	apak	epúgh	mpü	myá	—
Bird	putáh	pettàng	tsá	nghet	thó
Blood	oyí	i	harri	thwé	—
Boat	hulung	etkú	rruá	lhé	khlí
Bone	sala	álong	rúbóh	ayó	—
Buffalo	mendák	inenzek	máji	kyue	páná
Cat	ásá	kedári	uádzári	kyauing	saminyo
Cow	shye	sóu	mátsokrú	nuá	klo
Crow	pák	pivág	tsáklá	kyi	—
Day	húmpáh	longe	kibingge	né	ní
Dog	ekí	ekki	nekó	khwé	tui
Ear	nyárun	nórun	nakrá	ná	naku
Earth	—	ámóng	tari	myé	khí
Egg	pápúk	rokpi	mtiúmaie	u	—
Elephant	hátí	syite	dátón	shen	kátsho
Eye	nyek	ámig	malam	myetsi	mekhli
Father	ábba	bábu	uábá	aphé	pá
Fire	um mah	eme	námíng	mí	mé
Fish	ngay	engo	tá	ngá	nyá
Flower	pung	ápun	ápü	pánbwen	—
Foot	lágá	ale	mgroh	kyhé	khodu
Goat	shabam	soben	mádze	sheik	metele
Hair	demuk	dúmid	thúng	shaben	khósú
Hand	lák	elág	átuá	let	tsu
Head	dumpa	dumpóng	mkúra	ghaung	khó
Hog	kukpa	éek	báli	wet	thó
Horn	kung	áreng	rriu	kyho	—
Horse	ghurá	buré	garre	myen	kásé
House	ú	ekum	hón	eing	hí
Iron	kakdhar	yogid	sí	thán	tá
Leaf	nabar	ánne	náh	yuét	—
Light	hang tepá	pnánge	tsonáwo	len	—
Man	bangne	ámi	name	lú	prá
Monkey	lebe	sibie	tamrm	myauk	—
Moon	pala	polo	haluá	la	la
Mother	ane	náne	náma	amé	mo
Mountain	nodí	adí	thaiyá	taung	kátsá
Mouth	gám	nepáng	takú	nbók, pazát	thákbó
Musquito	térang	sunggu	tádze	khyen	pátso
Name	—	ámin	amüng	náme	ámí
Night	ia	kámo	lá	nyin, nya	—
Oil	tel	tuláng	sua	shí	só
Plantain	kepák	kopág	phújí	nghetpyo	sákwí
River	subang	botte	tsaló	myit	thimopralo
Road	lamtau	lámbe	ailam	lán	kle
Salt	álla	álo	pláh	shá	isá
Skin	sapen	ásig	kuá	thayé	—
Sky	ápá	taling	brrá	mó	múkhó
Suake	tabuk	tábí	tábú	myué	hru
Star	tnkar	tekár	kádang	kye	sá
Stone	elung	eling	mplá	kynaukke	le
Sun	dahani	árun	wanyí	né	mu
Tiger	samnya	simioh	támyah	kyá	bosó
Tooth	phi	fpáng	llá	thwá	—
Tree	sangná	sine	masang	thitpen	áthú
Villages	nampun	dólung	múting	yuá	wé
Water	issi	ási	máchi	yé	thí
Yam	—	engin	gi	myaukkhaung nue	—

English.	Singpho.	Jilí.	Gáro.	Manipurí.	Songpú.
Air	mbóng	mbóng	búrówá	nungsit	mpan
Ant	kagiú	tsanglang	shánnlchnk	knkcheng	nteang
Arrow	palá	malá	brá	tel	lú
Bird	wú	machik	dúbring	úchek	nroi
Blood	sni	tashai	kanchai	í	zyai
Boat	li	tali	ring	hí	hí
Bone	nráng	khamráng	gring	snrú	karau
Buffalo	nga	ngalui	mátma	iroi	woirhoi
Cat	ngyau	tengyau	menggó	haudong	mynuná
Cow	kansú	tangá	machú	snmuk	woitom
Crow	kokhá	takhá	doká	kwák	nghak
Day	sini	taná	sálú	nungthil	kalthú
Dog	kwi	takwi	áchak	hwi	shí
Ear	ná	knúá	náchil	ná	anhúkon
Earth	nggá	taká	hár	laipák	knndí
Egg	wúdí	matí	dúchi	yerun	nroiđui
Elephant	magwi	tsáng	mongmá	sámú	woipong
Eye	mi	njú	mokron	mit	mhik
Father	wá	vá	áfá	ipá	apú
Fire	wan	tavan	wol	mai	mál
Fish	nga	taugá	nátok	ngá	khá
Flower	sabanpá	saban	bihál	lai	mhuu
Foot	lagóug	takkhyai	jáchok	khong	phai
Goat	painam	takhyeu	dóbak	hameng	zyú
Hair	kná	kará	kiní	sam	son
Hand	letá	taphán	jak	khut	báu
Head	bóng	nggum	shikam	knk	pí
Hog	wá	tawak	wok	ok	ghák
Horn	rung	salung	grong	machí	kachai
Horse	kamráng	khamráng	—	sagol	takoau
House	ntá	kim	nók	yiin, sang	kái
Iron	mpri	taphí	shel	yot	ntan
Leaf	lap	lp	bolhijak	lá, maná	nhui
Light	thói	thwé	shingá	ngálba	ghán
Man	simpho	nsang	mande	mi	mai
Monkey	wé	tawé	hármak	yong	akoi
Moon	satá	sntá	jájong	thá	bú
Mother	nú	nú	amá	imá	apui
Mountaiu	bóm	satóng	áchúrá	ching	cheing
Mouth	nggóp	nóng	kósak	chil	mhoang
Musquito	sigrong	pakyók	ganggiá	kang	chakháng
Name	ming	taming	bimong	ming	kazyen
Night	saná	sanap	wóló	ahing	yimmhang
Oil	namman	namman	tochai	tháu	tháu
Plantain	langó	khungó	tarik	laphoi	háu
River	khá	talau	chimá	túrel	duidái
Road	lam	tanglong	rámá	lampí	cháng
Salt	tsúm	chúm	kárasam	thúm	ntai
Skin	phi	maphik	bigil	mawul	kagi
Sky	mó	mamó	srigi	nongthaurai-	tingpuk
Snake	lapú	tapú	chapi	lil [pak	nruí
Star	sagan	sakan	ésáke	thawálbichak	ghancong-
Stone	nlóng	talóng	rangta	nung	ntáu [na
Sun	tsan	katsán	sálgá	númit	naimhik
Tiger	saróng	kasá	machá	kai	kamhang
Tooth	wá	kóng	wégam	yá	hú, nai
Tree	phún	phún	bolbiphang	úpál	thingbang
Village	mareng	mbat	song	khúl	nham
Water	ntsin	mchin	chí	ising	dui
Yam	nai	nai	téjong	há	ruu

English.	Kapwí.	Koreng.	Marám.	Champhung.	Luhuppa.
Air	thiráng	tinghun	nhlut	phanrá	masí
Ant	tangin	mateangpwí	nteng	chingkhá	chaling
Arrow	thnn	takyen	nlá	malú	malá
Bird	masá	nthikna	aroi	ngúthe	vá
Blood	thí	tazyai	azyi	azí	ashí
Boat	lí	malí	nlí	marikho	marikhong
Bone	marú	pará	mahú	sorú	arú
Buffalo	saloi	alui	aghoi	ngalúi	siloi
Cat	topisá	myauná	tokpá	hángaubí	lámí
Cow	tom	matom	atom	shemuk	simuk
Crow	maá	ngét	chaghak	khalá	hangkhá
Day	tamlái	nin	lánlá	ngasinlung	ngasun
Dog	wí	tasí	athí	aval	thú
Ear	kaná	kon	inkon	khunú	khaná
Earth	talai	kadí	nthá	ngalai	ngalai
Egg	makatui	pabum	aroighum	ngori	harú
Elephant	tapong	chapong	mpong	plobí	navú
Eye	mik	mik	mik	amak	mik
Father	apá	apú	apá	íbo	avá
Fire	mai	chamí	mai	amai	mai
Fish	ngá	chakhá	khái	akhai	khái
Flower	rai	charápen	pán	abun	wnn
Foot	kí	chapi	phai	aphai	phai
Goat	ken	kami	khamí	amü	me
Hair	sam	tatham	thám	sam	sam
Hand	kut	chaben	ván	apán	páng
Head	lú	chapi	apí	kau	kui
Hog	bok	kabak	wok	avak	hok
Horn	takí	pake	tí	ratsü	ugachí
Horse	takoan	chakon	chakon	sagol	sikwi
House	in	chakí	kai	arú	shim
Iron	thia	chaghí	kaphá	aruk	tin
Leaf	ná	panú	alui	singuú	ná
Light	bán	ben	ghen	wár	hor
Man	mi	chamai	mí	samü	mi
Monkey	kazyong	tazyong	kazyong	khayn	nuyong
Moon	thá	charhú	llhá	asúbí	chaháng
Mother	anú	apwí	apwí	ípe	avü
Mountain	ching	malong	kalong	kaphung	kaphung
Mouth	mamun	chanun	mathú	khamar	khamnr
Musquito	káng	tingkheng	tangkháug	hnychang	hacháng
Name	ming	pazyan	azyan	amang	ming
Night	zyingphá	nchun	múlá	ngayúlá	ngayá
Oil	tháu	tháu	tháo		tháurú
Plantain	ngachang	ngoshí	mphoithai	lipü	náná
River	tuikoak	shinggú	arunkai	úrai	kong
Road	lampwí	mpwí	lampí	lampí	songvü
Salt	machí	matai	nchí	knsam	machí
Skin	mun	paghí	taghí	ahul	ahui
Sky	tangbán	tinggem	tinggam	tangarnm	kazing
Snake	marun	kanu	sanná	rinam	pharú
Star	insí	chagan	chaghauthni	hnrtí	sirvá
Stone	lung	talo	ntau	ngalung	ngnlung
Sun	rímik	tingnainik	tamik	tamak	tsingmik
Tiger	takhú	chakwi	khúbui	akhuhi	saugkhú
Tooth	ngá	nhú	aghá	avá	há
Tree	thingkung	singbang	akoi	asing	thingrong
Village	nam	nnm	inam	rám, khul	ramkhü
Water	tui	tadui	nthui	thari	tarü
Yam	bánrá	charú	charátbai	páthai	lósukpái

English.	N. Tánghul.	C. Tánghul.	S. Tánghul.	Khoibú.	Maring.
Air	masü	mashia	khiráng	nonglit	marthí
Ant	lángzá	chamchá	akhau	miling	playáng
Arrow	malá	malá	the	malá	lá
Bird	utá	otá	mate	wátsá	wáchá
Blood	asü	unsi	athí	hí	hi
Boat	malhü	malhí	rukng	malí	lí
Bone	arükáu	urú	arú	thurú	khurú
Buffalo	shí	shí	selüi	raloi	lui
Cat	lámé	tumí	akhán	tongkaa	tuag
Cow	samuk	samiuk	samiuk	namuk	muk
Crow	khungkhá	lungkhá	awák	hatharák	ák
Day	masütuu	masung	asüu	nongyáng	nungháng
Dog	phü	wi	ü	wi	wi
Ear	akháná	nkhané	uákcor	khaná	nhánil
Earth	malái	ngalái	alú	thalái	khi
Egg	háchü	atü	artü	wáyui	wáyui
Elephant	maphü	sakatai	sai	kasái	sái
Eye	amichá	omit	omit	mit	mit
Father	apá	opá	pá	pá	pápa
Fire	mái	mái	umi	mai	mai
Fish	khí	sangá	ngá	thangá	hugá
Flower	pie	pie	ramen	pár	pár
Foot	akho	okho	ake	wáng	ho
Gout	mi	mikre	makre	lungngau	klung
Hair	knsen	kosen	sam	sam	sam
Hand	akhüi	khut	knit	khut	hut
Head	akáo	okáo	alú	lú	lú
Hog	hok	hok	ok	hok	wok
Horn	akatsü	mchí	akí	ntsi	chí
Horse	sakoi	sakoi	sapuk	shapuk	puk
House	shin	shin	ya	tsim	chim
Iron	marü	marí	thiar	sakwá	thir
Leaf	thiná	thiná	thingná	ná	ná
Light	she	shea	wár	wár	wár
Man	mü	mi	pá-sá	thamí	hmí
Monkey	nayong	nayong	yong	hayng	yung
Moon	kacheang	kacheang	akhá	tanglá	tánglá
Mother	aphü	onü	noá	nábí	tadá
Mountain	kaphung	kaphung	ramthing	ramthing	klung
Mouth	ania	onia	mur	mur	mur
Musquito	hacheang	haicheang	sangsan	thaagtan	thangkran
Name	amí	omin	arnin	ming	ming
Night	mayá	rosá	ayau	rasá	meá
Oil	tháu	tháu	tháu	sherek	thrik
Plantain	mottúái	mottthai	müt	mothai	nuthai
River	kong	tútháu	tü	knngpwi	tulil
Road	snmpü	sombüi	lampü	lampwi	lam
Salt	ntsü	machi	machi	miti	ti
Skin	ahü	ohói	arlüa	un	wun
Sky	kaziráng	kachiráng	arwállong	thangwán	nungthau
Snake	phrü	phrüi	marí	phurun	phrul
Star	sapáchenglá	sapácheunglá	arshí	tikron	snrwá
Stone	lunggau	lung	lung	thulung	klung
Sun	yuiwit	ohimit	ani	nongmit	nungmit
Tiger	sakhwü	sakwi	hanpü	hompwí	humwi
Tooth	ahá	ohá	alárrá	há	há
Tree	thingbáng	thingbáng	thing	hingtong	hingbál
Village	raháng	ram, khui	ram	ynn	yul
Water	aichü	tündü	tü	yui	yui
Yam	berhá	berhá	wirá	rá	bál

<i>English.</i>	<i>Anamese.</i>	<i>Japanese.</i>	<i>Corean.</i>
Air	hoi	djiyu	siyo
Ant	kien	ari	kayami
Arrow	ten	ya	sar
Bird	shlm	tori	sai
Blood	mau	tsü	phi
Boat	ding	tenmä	syosyon
Bone	shüng	hone	spyo
Buffalo	klongnük	suigiu	mursyo
Cat	meyü	neko	koi
Cow	süngkrau	ushi	syo
Crow	konkwa	karasze	kamakoi
Day	ngai	hi	narir
Dog	sho	inu	kai
Ear	tái	nimi	kái
Earth	det	tsi	tati
Egg	krüng	tamango	ar
Elephant	wóí	dso	khokhiri
Eye	mat	me	nún
Father	shá	tsitsi	api
Fire	lúa	hi	púr
Fish	kha	sakana	koki
Flower	hoa rü	hana	kot
Foot	kangshün	asi	par
Goat	yé	hitszeji	yang
Hair	long	kaminoke	thorok
Haud	tai	te	son
Head	dú	ntama	mari
Hog	héu	inoshishi	santsey
Horn	süng	tsno	spúr
Horse	ngüa	ma	mar
House	ya	uchi	tsipka
Iron	sat	tets	tsurir
Leaf	la	namari	nip
Light	raangsang	bikari	piyot
Man	ngoe	stonin	sarain
Monkey	wün	saru	tsainnapi
Moon	klang	ski	tarwor
Mother	me	haha	omi
Mountain	yam	yama	moismuni
Mouth	meng	kuchi	ipku
Mnsquito	bang	ka	mokái
Name	ten	na	irhon
Night	dem	yoru	pamya
Oil	yau	abura	kirün
Plantain	kongtin	obako	phntshyo
River	son	kawa	hasyu
Road	dang	mitchi	kin
Salt	moe man	shiwo	sokom
Skin	yá	knwa	katsok
Sky	tüngtien	sora	hanar
Snake	rau	kuchinnwa	paiyam
Star	tingto	hoshi	pyor
Stone	da	ishi	torsyok
Sun	witaiyüng	nitchirin	nar
Tiger	ongkop	tora	pom
Tooth	naurang	ha	ni
Tree	kai	ki	umao
Village	laug	mura	suikor
Water	nük	midzu	mursyu
Yam	kwei	skunemo	ma

which, in the opinion of the writer, tend to elucidate their origin, and to establish an ancient connection between them and other races.

4. Whether the language is originally monosyllabic or polysyllabic. If the former, have any polysyllabic words crept in, and from what source?

5. Does the language possess a variety of tones? How many and what are they?

6. Is the pronunciation of the language uniform throughout the district in which it is spoken? Are the sounds of particular letters varied, in certain positions, for the sake of euphony?

7. Is it a written language? If so, whence does it derive its alphabet? Is its alphabet well adapted to express the sounds of the language, or otherwise?

8. How many vowel sounds does it contain? How many consonants?

9. What languages does it resemble in grammatical construction? Do the nouns undergo any change of form on account of case, gender, or number? If not, how are these accidents expressed?

10. Are the verbs inflected to express the various moods and tenses? Or are these determined by the use of prepositive or postpositive particles?

11. Are adjectives varied to agree with their nouns? Have they any degrees of comparison? What is the method of forming the numerals above ten? Are there any generic particles affixed to the numerals?


12. Has the language an article?

13. Are there different forms for the personal pronouns, designating the superiority or inferiority of the speaker or hearer?

14. In what order are the different parts of speech arranged in a sentence? Does the possessive case precede or follow the word by which it is governed? Is the objective governed by prepositions, or postpositions? Does the verb precede or follow the objective which it governs? Do adverbs, conjunctions, auxiliaries, and other particles precede or follow the verbs which they modify?

IV.—*Specimens of Buddhist Inscriptions, with symbols, from the west of India.* By Colonel W. H. SYKES, Hon. Mem., As. Soc. &c.

The admirable and efficient use you have made in your able journal of the ancient inscriptions and ancient coins found in various parts of India, induced me to apply to withdraw all my copies of inscriptions met with in Western India from the hands of the Royal Asiatic Society with a view to offer them to you to make such use of as you might think proper. My application to the Royal Asiatic Society was met with an assurance that the inscriptions, which had been transmitted to the literary society of *Bombay* very many years ago, and which were subsequently sent by this society to the R. A. S., were to be published immediately; this assurance precluded further interference on my

part and I shall therefore not do more than transmit to you, copies of such inscriptions as I think from the associated emblems or monographs may assist to throw light upon some of the coins you have published. As preliminary to my observations you must permit me to quote a passage from your own elaborate account of the coins which appear in your journal. You say most justly and philosophically that, "It is an indisputable axiom that unstamped fragments of silver and gold of a fixed weight must have preceded the use of regular coin in those countries where civilization and commerce had induced the necessity of some convenient representation of value. The antiquarian therefore will have little hesitation in ascribing the HIGHEST GRADE OF ANTIQUITY in Indian numismatology to small flattened bits of silver or other metal which are occasionally discovered all over the country, either quite smooth, or bearing only a few pinch-marks on one or both sides; and generally having a corner cut off as may be conjectured for the adjustment of their weight."—Vol. iv. p. 627. If it be found that Baudha emblems or Baudha monographs exist upon such coins, we shall have the *highest grade of antiquity* in Indian numismatology associated with Buddhism. And that such is the case you have supplied numerous instances, and vol. iv. pls. 31 and 34, of the square kind, coins 26, 27, 32, 51 and 18 are denominated ancient Hindu coins, but which from their emblems or monographs, are evidently coins of Buddhist dynasties; at least they must be admitted to be such until we can prove from unquestionable ancient Hindu inscriptions that similar emblems or monographs were used by the Hindu inhabitants of India in contra-distinction to the Buddhist inhabitants. You will perceive that the monograph which characterizes the above coins is the  and a reference to my perfect Baudha inscriptions will prove that this emblem is initial or final, or both, in every inscription excepting the second. Very many of the rounded coins, which according to your dictum are comparatively more recent than the square coins, are equally characterized by the emblems.

Proceeding to another emblem common to the coins and the Buddh inscriptions, it will be seen that the initial symbol of inscription No. 6, is absolutely identical with the emblem or monograph over the back of the elephant on the coin No. 9, on the reverse of which is a bull usually denominated by Europeans a brahmany bull; but which, as it is found in Buddhist sculpture as well as on Buddhist coins, might with equal propriety be denominated a Buddhist bull. The partially obliterated emblem on coins 5, 13, is no doubt the same as that in coin 9.

It may be a question whether or not the symbol is the original of that 卐 found on so many other coins whether Indoscythic, Canouj, or Hindu,—or it may be, that the initial symbol of inscription No. 2, has a greater claim, with its four points. I do not perceive any symbol on the coins exactly corresponding to the initial emblem of inscription No. 3, but the male figure in coin 16, plate 38, vol. iv., is pointing downwards to a form not very far removed from it. One of the emblems observed on the Canouj series of coins is a pole, on the top of which is a compound object not referable to any known form; an erect male figure, called by you the sacrificing rája, with a glory round his head, or the crescent behind his shoulders, looks towards this emblem: on the reverse is a female either seated on a stool, on a bed, or on a couchant lion. I beg of you to bear this remarkable emblem on the one side, and the female seated on a lion on the other side, particularly in mind, for they will assist to connect the Canouj series of coins with a Buddhist dynasty. In illustration of the emblem I transmit a sketch of the principal figure of Buddha in alto relievo in the celebrated cave temple of *Karleh*. You will perceive that Buddha is seated on a lotus flower, supported by the identical emblem met with on the coins, vide plate 38, coins 16, 17; plate 39, coins 18, 19, 20, et seq. That the emblem is sacred is evident from its supporting Buddha; and the figures holding up the pole are no sublunary personages, for their heads are shrouded by the seven-headed snake which shrouds Buddha himself in some of the sculptures at *Ellora*. In coin 24 G. pl. 39, vol. iv. the emblem is placed between a male and female (probably the rája and his wife of the coins) both of whom are looking up to it; and the female appears to be making an offering. You state this emblem to be a standard having a bird at the top, somewhat resembling the Roman eagle; and you read the name of the rája to be KUMARA GUPTA. A relook at coin 20, pl. 39, vol. iv., in which the outline of the emblem appears to be quite perfect will probably induce you to compare it again with other coins, to ascertain what changes of form the emblem undergoes. In the sketch I have sent you will observe the association of Buddha with lions, (odd as they look) antilopes and snakes.

I now come to a remarkable coincidence. On coin 25, pl. 39, vol. iv. a female is represented seated on a couchant or reposing lion. This coin you call the *Conolly* coin, from that gentleman's discovery of it, and the legend is read *Srī SINHA VIKRĀMA*. I beg of you to take up the 3rd volume of the Transactions of the Literary Society of *Bombay*, and turn to my account of the caves of *Ellora* and you will there find a sketch absolutely identical with the figure on the coin. We have

the exact position of the lion (in my account inadvertently called tiger ; but it is a *maned* lion), the exact position of the right leg of the female ; the same aspect of the figure, the glory round the head ; and the same ornaments on the arms above the elbow, and in the same female figure on other coins we observe the same triple necklace. My sketch represents an alto-relievo figure cut out of the rock in the *Buddh* cave temple at *Ellora*, now most absurdly denominated by the Hindus *Jagannáth Subhá*, and the figure herself with equal absurdity is called *Bhagésrí Bhowaní*, but in *Indra Subhá*, she is called *Inderaní*, and is sculptured on the walls of the hall. A tree is sculptured on the wall behind the female figures, in which are roosting peafowls. I mention this, because, from the female in coins 28 and 30 being associated with peafowls, she is considered to be the wife of *Kartika*. The originals of my sketch are as large as life, and *Inderaní* is sculptured on the terminal wall of a long vestibule to the crypt or sacred place where *Buddh* is sculptured : the opposite terminal wall of the vestibule has corresponding figures as large as life (with the exception of the elephant) of a man seated on a couchant elephant, a tree is behind the figures and on the branches peafowls are seated, and the man is now called *Indra*. As there are not any sacred symbols connected with these figures, but as they were evidently not secondary objects with the sculptors or excavators of the temple, not less from their position than from their execution, I have for some years been accustomed to consider them representations of the prince and his consort, by whom the cave was executed ; and in this opinion I was confirmed by similar figures being met with under similar circumstances in two other *Buddh* caves ; there being only some slight difference in the position of the female upon the lion, such as is seen in coin 27, and in one instance the lion is by the side of the female.

If therefore these coincidences justify the belief that the female figure on the coin and the female figure in the *Baudha* caves of *Ellora* be the same, we come to the conclusion that the caves in which the figures are found were excavated by a *Budhist* prince, named *VIKRAMA MAHENDRA GUPTA* ; and the form of the *Devanágri* letters upon the coin will give a period of 2000 to 2500 years for the date of the excavation. Of course the caves were excavated by different princes, for such astonishing works of art could only have been perfected in many generations.

It would appear that upon the ancient coins, whether of the *Canouj* series, from *Behat*, *Saurashtra*, *Jaunpoor*, or *Western India*, on some or all of them are found emblems, symbols, monograms, figures of men and

animals, trees, peafowls, &c.—all of which are to be met with sculptured in Baudha cave temples ; and the coins are impressed with an antique form of the Devanāgrī which is only met with in Buddhist inscriptions in Buddhist works of art. Now until we find the same symbols, monographs, figures, and the same antique form of the Sanskrit character in Hindu works of art ; (and there is nothing of the kind whatever in the numerous cave temples in Western India dedicated to *SHĒVUH* (*SIVA*) particularly there is not any inscription in the antique form of the Devanāgrī,) we may legitimately infer that Buddhists are the authors in cases where these symbols are found, and that Hindus are not the authors. Moreover, the use of the antique form of the Devanāgarī indicates a priority in the use of it, over those who appear to have used a modified form of it.

I beg of you to make any use you please of this letter ; for I have not any objection to my opinions being subjected to the test of public criticism. Truth is my object and I am quite satisfied to be set right in case I am wrong.

Note on Col. SYKES' Inscriptions, by JAS. PRINSEP, Sec. As. Soc., &c.

Colonel SYKES pays us no small compliment in wishing to transfer back again to India for elucidation the numerous inscriptions he so long since collected in the West of India. This is indeed reversing the order of things!—while we are sending to Europe all those great men eminent for their knowledge of the ancient tongues of India, and discouraging (if not persecuting) the study of these tongues by the natives themselves ;—while the public declaration of a late president (Sir CHARLES GREY) still rings in our ear, that the subject of Indian literature and antiquity was now exhausted, and that we must seek other matter of physical research to occupy the attention of the members of the Asiatic Society, we are awakened and encouraged to a fresh train of antiquarian investigation by an appeal from our retired comrades, who had carried away with them stores of precious materials to lie long neglected, or to excite fruitless curiosity in a clime ungenial to their elucidation.

More than one great question is certainly involved in the solution of the cave inscriptions of western India. To whom is to be attributed their construction ? From what period have they existed ?—In what language and character are the records sculptured ?—Unknown to Colonel SYKES, the whole of these questions have been already solved as regards the pillar monuments on this side of India :—They are of the third or fourth century anterior to our era : they are of Buddhist foundation ;

and the language is not Sanskrit, but a link between that grammatical idiom and the Páli of the Buddhist scriptures. The alphabet appears to be the very prototype of all the *Devanágari* and *Dakshini* alphabets: and nothing in the pure Sanskrit tongue has yet been discovered preserved in this character: indeed it would be impossible that it should; because, still more than the Páli, the alphabet is deficient in many letters absolutely necessary to Sanskrit syntax.

Further, of the cave inscriptions on this part of India, we have already published one from *Gaya* in the selfsame alphabet and language, of the age of rája *DASARATHA* (the II.) In the present number we publish another equally important evidence from *Cuttack*, proving that the caves in the *Khandgiri* hill were repaired and appropriated if not excavated, in the time of *AIRA* rája a Buddhist sovereign of Calinga. From the west of India we have hitherto only had one specimen (that of Dr. *STEVENSON* from *Karli*) to deal with, and this we have with reason suspected of being also *Páli*, though the character has evidently undergone the changes of a century or two.

Whatever may be our desire to penetrate further into the secret, we still by no means regret that Col. *SYKES* has not sent the whole of his collection to gratify our curiosity. Impressed with a conviction that no written copy is to be trusted implicitly we should have either hesitated to look at them at all, or perhaps should have wasted hours of labour in vain on them; while we know that our zealous fellow-labourers in *Bombay* are meantime adopting the best means of securing authentic facsimiles of these very inscriptions, and are even now engaged in examining their contents. Nevertheless these half-dozen brief specimens from *Jooner*, selected as containing symbols identical with those on the various Buddhist groupes of coins, have, invited attention in spite of all our resolutions! and though future comparisons may change and correct many letters in our reading, we cannot refrain from publishing the results, strikingly confirmatory as they are of the fact that these Buddhist cave inscriptions are also in the vernacular of the day, all equally simple and intelligible—now that the key has been discovered. This key is of course no other than the one recovered through the *Bhilsa dúnams*; and it is a singular fact that the principal deviation in the *Sainhadri* cave alphabet, from what may be considered as the original type, (namely, that of the letter *d*.) has been traced and verified through the recurrence, in many of the short inscriptions, of the somewhat similar expression *daya dhama*, (Sanskrit *dayá-dharma*.) The principal acts here are of ‘compassion and piety, as those were of ‘charity;’ not that the latter expression does not

also occur in some of the present examples : and particularly in fig. 1 of the accompanying plate, wherein Colonel SYKES happily confirms the correction I ventured to introduce into the Rev. Dr. STEVENSON'S copy of the same line (see page 468 of the present volume). Strange to say there are many other discrepancies of equal magnitude in the two copies of this simple document : Col. SYKES' line reading :

Saharavisabhoti putasa (a) gimita ukasa sihathabhodánam.

The change from *pihathato dára* to *sihathabho dánam*, immediately opens our eyes to the subject of the record, *sihathabho* (or *sihathambha*) being the regular Páli orthography of सिंह स्तंभः *Sinha stambhas*, the lion pillar ; and Col. SYKES informs us that the inscription is engraven "on the obelisk or pillar in front of the *Kárli* cave." The obvious translation then is,

"This lion pillar is the gift of AGIMITRA UKAS the son of SAHA RATISABHOTI."

In fig. 2 a perfect inscription from the doorway of the *Sainhadri* caves north of *Jooneer (Júnira)*, we may remark the commencement of a departure from the original form in some of the letters used : thus the *t* or λ is changed to η , a common form also in the *Girnar* inscriptions, and evidently the link between the original form and the δ of the *Mahamalaipura* inscriptions, and of the various southern alphabets : it may be also seen in inscription 3 of the present plate. This letter would be taken for an *n* by readers on our side of India ; and this is perhaps one of the best possible proofs of the authenticity of the primitive form, whence by distinct ramifications in opposite sides of the peninsula the same derivative has come to denote quite a different original ! The *n*, of our Samudra Gupta and more modern alphabets is derived from \perp ; this when written, required the pen to be carried below forming a loop thus \perp ; which was gradually carried downward in δ and δ , and ended in the modern *n*. But I must not attempt on this occasion to analyze individual letters, or I shall be carried away into an endless digression. Correcting the second anomalous letter conjecturally, the line will run thus :—

Dharmika seniya sata gabham uđhi cha daya dhamam.

which corresponds precisely with the Sanskrit :

धार्मिकसेनीय सतगर्भ उद्गीच दयाधर्म.

"The hundred caves and the tank of DHA'RMIKA SENI—his act of piety, and compassion."

I must be allowed to remark en passant that the letter *n* has here changed its form to \perp , which appears to be the original form of the

𑀘, 𑀙, 𑀚, 𑀛, 𑀜 and 𑀝, of successive alphabets, and may explain the circumstance of that class of *n* alone being known in the written Prākṛit of the Hindu drama, and of the sacred literature of the Jains. For the word *uḍhi* see observations on No. 5.

The symbol on this inscription, Col. SYKES identifies with that on coins 16, 17, 18, 26, 27, 32 and 51 of plate 34, vol. v.

Inscription 3 may be transcribed in Roman letters thus :

Virasenakasa gahalatila maghasa
Dhama nigamasa dayadhama, chetiya-ghara,
Niyuta sama loka hita sukhāya.

In Sanskrit this sentence may be rendered with exact conformity :

वीरसेनकस्य षडक्षतिलमघस्य धर्मेनिगमस्य चैत्यगृह नियुक्त सम लोक हित सुखाय

“The compassionate and pious act of VIRA SENAKA, the *gahalatila magha*, the abode of righteousness,—for the pleasure and advantage of the virtuous attendants of the chaitya temple.”

This inscription is stated by Col. SYKES to be “on a Buddhist cave temple in which there is a large isolated *dehgopa*, under the hill fort of *Seunere* or *Jooneer*.” The expression *chetiya ghar* of course alludes to this interior structure: it is exactly the modern vernacular name, and it introduces us with certainty to a new letter, the *gh*, which has been hitherto a desideratum; and which was of doubtful existence in the primitive alphabet. Some modification is also perceptible in the *kh* of the word *sukhāya*, of the reading of which however there can be no reasonable doubt.

The symbol at the head of this inscription agrees precisely with that of many of our golden Indo-Scythic coins.

The name *gahalatila magha* reminds us of a tribe of Rājputs, the *Gehlotes*, or *Grahalotes* who founded the Gohila dynasty of *Mewār*, after the destruction of the Balabhis of *Saurashtra*. *Magha* is the name of one of the *dvipas* or divisions of the universe. It also applies to the *Magas* of the Arracan country, Buddhists who claim to have given their name to the *Magadha* province whence they migrated eastward: but this is doubtful.

Figure 4 is headed, “Perfect inscription over the doorway of the large pillared cave temple within the vestibule, *Sainhadri* caves.”

Some little ambiguity remains as to the third letter which may be either *a* or *s*; in the latter case the sense will only vary so far as to introduce the name of the *mother* as well as of the father of the benefactor—*Kali sutasya*, ‘born of KALI’—but as the same letter occurs in the next inscription without change, I think it must be an *a*

rather than an *s*, although we have thus a collision between two vowels.

Kali átasa harañika putasa sulísadatasa thakapurisasa chetiya ghara niyuta dayadhama.

In Sanskrit :

कल्यार्त्तस्य हैरण्यक पुत्रस्य सुलेशदत्तस्य ठकपुरेशस्य चैत्यगृह नियुक्त दय धर्मा

"The pious act of SULISADATTA, lord of the city of *Thaka*, the son of KALI' A'TA (or KALYARTA) the gold merchant, for the attendants on the chaitya-temple."

The name of the rich person at whose expense the cave was apparently dug or ornamented, may be translated 'given by the sun'—equivalent to *Apollodotus* of the Greeks; it may also be read *Sálisa datta* (given of SIVA); both are somewhat at variance with a *Bauddha* profession. The town over which he ruled looks very like *Thákurpura*.

No. 5, of the same plate, is 'enclosed in a panel, over the western cistern near the large reservoir in the *Sainhadra* caves.'

Kali átekasa kuñira putasa sudhana

Kánasa saghakasa uñhi dayadhama.

Here the four opening letters are the same as in the last example, but they are followed by a *k*, and the rest of the name is different. The doubtful word in the second line is evidently the same as one in the second inscription, where from following *satagabham* with a conjunctive '*cha*' it seemed to denote some similar object of art. From the position of the present inscription, that object could be no other than a reservoir for water, and from analogy to the primitive alphabet the initial letter should be the vowel *L* or *u*. In WILSON'S dictionary I accordingly found the word उङ्ग : *uñhras*, water, whence would naturally be formed उङ्गी *uñhrí*, or in Páli, *uñhi*, a tank, or water reservoir. Again the letter *t* of *putasa* more resembled a *bh*, which if so would make the reading *kuñira pubhasa* (Sanskrit कुटीरप्रधस्य *kuñira prabhasya* or *prabhavasya*, enlightening or born in a cottage)—and the whole sentence :

"This tank is the pious work of KALI' ATAKA the humbly born, the honest acquirer of wealth, the deceased (gone to heaven, *swargágasya* ?)"

The modification of the letter *dh* should be particularly noted as it might easily be taken for a *v*, but for the known word *dhama*.

No. 6. This is one of the most curious of the series because of the exact accordance of the initial symbol with the monogram on a large series of the Indo-Scythic coins, commencing with the reverse of the celebrated *Mokadphises* coin. There can be little doubt that these signs, placed at the head of every written document, and stamp on the field of every die are, like the *aum* of the brahmans, the cross of

the Christians, or the triangle of the masonic brethren, connected with the religion of the parties. Twenty-four such signs are still in use among the Jains, whose books or traditions may some day instruct us in the allegories they are intended to convey. The present panelled inscription is 'on the most western end of the rock near the chambers of the *Sainhádri* caves.' It runs in the usual strain :

*Sámaḍapasakasa putasa,
Sivakukhisa daya dhama dánam,
Kapá vibhása yase niyuntakam.*

सामडपसकपुत्रस्य शिवकुचिकस्य (?) दयाधर्मदानं कृपाविभस्य यशसे नियुक्तं

" The pious and charitable endowment of SIVA KUKHI (?) the son of SA'MA-RAPASAKA (?) redounding to the glory of this most compassionate person."

implying doubtless that the chambers had been constructed by the party, for the accommodation of the priests or ascetics who resided on the spot.

Can we then venture to affirm on the strength of these very brief and detached announcements that we have solved the great question of the origin of the cave temples of western India, those stupendous works of art which it is calculated must have occupied centuries of labour and mins of wealth to excavate? The obvious answer is ;—if these inscriptions occupy, as they seem to do, prominent and designed places in the works they allude to, they can hardly be imagined to record any thing less than the original construction: or when the excavations were of natural formation, at least their embellishment and architectural sculpture.

In this case we may at once pronounce, from the alphabetic evidence, that the caves were thus constructed or embellished a century or two prior to the christian era, when Buddhism flourished in the height of its glory from *Cashmír* to *Ceylon*.

It is certainly an extraordinary circumstance that among all these inscriptions, the title of rája should never occur, and that such great undertakings should appear to have proceeded from private zeal, from obscure individuals neither connected with the court nor with the priesthood; for neither any where do we discover the familiar titles of *Sramana*, *Bhikhu*, *Mahámatí* nor *Arahata* in the present inscriptions.

The above are but a few specimens selected from a mass in the owner's possession, and unimportant compared with those on which we have reason to believe our friends in *Bombay* are now engaged. From their labours must we impatiently expect the solution to Col. SYKES' question now we are told under re-agitation in England—' whether the

buddhists or the brahmanas may claim precedence in the history of Indian civilization and literature?' We have already expressed an opinion on this discussion, supported by the strong argument that the language of all our lately disclosed documents is a mere scion of the pure Sanskrit stock, not quite so distant from its parent as the *Páli*, or the Jaina *Prákrit*, but still widely at variance with the purity and perfection of the sacred language of the *Vedas*.

Nevertheless opponents may argue,—where are any Sanskrit sculptured documents or inscriptions of equal antiquity?—Look at the Sanskrit inscriptions of the *Saiva* sculptures at *Mahamalaipura* so ably deciphered by Mr. BABINGTON*: they are in a character which can be proved to be a regular and even distant descendant of the *lít* character. Again they may argue, does not the word *Sanskrit* imply that the existing language was reformed, dressed and reduced to grammatical restraint, at some period?—this was attended with the introduction of several new letters which are not to be found in the early primitive alphabet, nor even in the early offsets from it, the square *Páli*, and the old *Tamil*:—whereas we can trace their gradual incorporation in these western link inscriptions, and we find them fully developed in the well preserved copper-plate grants of the third century so happily coming to aid our studies from *Gujerát*. “Much may be said on both sides,”—but it is most prudent to say nothing at all as yet;—to imitate the best schools of geology, and collect materials without meddling with theories.

We have said nothing of the last of Colonel SYKES's inscriptions,—that over a large figure of *Buddha* in the cave temple of *Kárli*, 35 miles W. N. W. of *Poona*, because it is evidently imperfect and mutilated. It would be easy to pick out detached passages capable of interpretation, as the following towards the end of the first line
parágata ime sava thala (sthalla) vasata lokusa vátavuya (vastaváya) : quasi, (for the accommodation of foreign pilgrims from all places.) In the following lines frequently occurs the expression *gámaka rajake*, *यामकरञ्जकः* : ‘devotees belonging to the town.’ The two expressions point to some endowment for these two classes of devotees. Colonel SYKES in a note describes the figure of *Buddha* to be ‘seated on a lotus flower, supported on a remarkable emblem, held up by two figures whose heads are shrouded by seven-headed snakes. The supposed curly hair of the figures of *Buddha* is here evidently a cap or head-dress. Like the generality of the figures of *Buddha* in the cave temples of Western India, it is associated with lions, ante-

* Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. II.

lopes and snakes. The inscription occupies the exact situation here represented.'

The allegory of ancient mythology is a distinct study, a language more difficult to read than any of our 'unknown tongues' when the superstitions are once swept away from practice and memory. I cannot yet attempt any explanation of the symbols common to the caves and the coins. But Buddhism still flourishes in neighbouring countries, and thither we must refer for elucidation of these and the thousand other mysteries and anecdotes of the saint's history pictured in stone and in fresco on the deserted caves and temples of his once thriving followers in India.

V.—*Further notes on the inscriptions on the columns at Delhi, Allahabad, Betiah, &c. By the Hon'ble GEORGE TURNOUR, Esq. of the Ceylon Civil Service**.

I have read with great interest, in the *Asiatic Journal* of July last, your application of your own invaluable discovery of the LAT alphabet, to the celebrated inscriptions on FERROZ's column, at Delhi.

When we consider that these inscriptions were recorded upwards of two thousand years ago, and that the several columns on which they are engraven have been exposed to atmospheric influences for the whole of that period, apparently wholly neglected; when we consider also, that almost all the inflections of the language in which these inscriptions are composed, occur in the ultimate and penultimate syllables, and that these inflections are chiefly formed by minute vowel symbols, or a small *anuswara* dot; and when we further find that the *Páli* orthography of that period, as shewn by these inscriptions was very imperfectly defined—using single for double, and promiscuously, aspirated and unaspirated consonants; and also, without discrimination, as to the class each belonged, the four descriptions of *n*—the surprise which every reasonable investigator of this subject must feel will be occasioned rather by the extent of the agreement than of the disagreement between our respective readings of these ancient records.

Another very effective cause has, also, been in operation to produce a difference in our readings. You have analysed these inscriptions through a *Brahmanized Sanskrit* medium, while I have adopted a *Buddhis-*

* We consider it a duty to insert this paper, just received, in the same volume with our version of the inscription, adding a note or two in defence of the latter where we consider it still capable of holding its ground against such superior odds!—ED.

tical Páli medium. With all my unfeigned predisposition to defer to your practised judgment and established reputation in oriental research, it would be uncandid in me if I did not avow, that I retain the opinion that the medium of analysis employed by me has been (imperfect as that analysis is) the more appropriate and legitimate one.

The thorough investigation of this subject is of such paramount importance and deep interest, and as (if I have rightly read the concluding sentence of "the fifth inscription round the shaft of FERÖZ's pillar," which appears for the first time in the July journal,) we have yet *five* more similar columns* to discover in India, I venture to suggest that you should publish my translation also, together with the text in the ancient character, transposed *literatim* from my romanized version†. Future examiners of these monuments of antiquity will thus have the two versions to collate with the originals, and be able to decide which of the two admits of the closest approximation to the text.

In the present note I shall confine myself to a critical examination of the first sentence only of the northern inscription, which will serve to show how rigidly I have designed to adhere to the rules of the Páli grammar in my translation of these inscriptions; and then proceed to explain the historical authority I have recently discovered for identifying PIYADASI, the recorder of these inscriptions, with DHAMMÁSOKO, the supreme monarch of India, the convert to, and great patron of, Buddhism, in the fourth century before our era.

The first sentence of the northern inscription, after the name of the recorder and the specification of the year of his reign, I read thus :

Hidatapálité dúsapañipádayé, ananta agáyá dhammakámatáyá, agáya parikháyá, agáyá sásanáyá, agéna bhayéna, agéna usáhéna ; éśúchakho mama anusathiyó.

Although the orthography as well as syntax, of your reading, viz. *hidatapálité dusan*, and which you construe "the faults that have been cherished in my heart," are both defective, a slight and admissible alteration into "*hadayapálité dósé*" would remove those objections, if other difficulties did not present themselves, which will be presently explained, and which, I fear, are insuperable.

The substantive "*pañipádayé‡*," however, which you convert into a verb, does not, I am confident, in the Páli language, admit of the rendering "I acknowledge

* We know of five, therefore three remain—the Bhittrí may be a fragment of one; that at *Bakrabad*, and one near *Ghazeepore* are without inscriptions.—ED.

† To this we must demur: we have examined the greater part from perfect facsimiles, and cannot therefore consent to publish a version which we know to deviate materially from the original text.—ED.

‡ The objection to consider *pañipádaye* as a verb does not seem very consistent with the three examples given, all of which ARE VERBS—*pañipajjámáti* (the double *jj* of which represents the Sanskrit *dy* not *d*) *S. pratipadyáma iti* or *iu átmani pada ámahe*;—and twice, *pañipajjitubanti* (*S. Pratipadyatavyam iti*). *Pada* is certainly

and confess" in the sense of *renunciation*. This word is derived from the root "*pada*" "to proceed in, as in a journey;" and with the intensitive prefix "*pati*" invariably signifies "*steadfast observance* or *adherence*." With the prefix of collective signification "*sam*" the verb signifies "to acquire" or "to earn." I gave an instance in the July journal (p. 523), as the last words uttered by BUDDHO on his deathbed.

"*Handadané, bhikkhavé, amantiyámi wó : wayadhammá sankhára, appamádéna sampádétha.*" "Now, O Bhikkhus! I am about to conjure you (for the last time) : perishable things are transitory ; without procrastination earn (*nibbánan*.)"

With the intensitive prefix '*pati*,' the verb is to be found very frequently in the Buddhistical scriptures. The following example is also taken from the *Parinibbánan sutan* in the *Dighanikáyo*, containing the discourses of BUDDHO delivered while reclining on his deathbed, under the *sat* trees at *Kusinára*. The interrogator A'NANDO was his first cousin, and favorite disciple.

Kathan Mayan, Bhanté, Mátugámé paṭipajjámati ? Adassan, Anandáti, Das-sané, Bhagawá, kothan paṭipajjitaḅbanti ? Anátápo, Anandati, Atapantéra, Bhanté kathan paṭipajjitaḅbanti ? Sati Ananda Upatthá yétabhāti.* "Lord, how should we comfort ourselves in our intercourse with the fair sex ? A'NANDO ! do not look at them. BHAGAWA ! having looked at them, what course should be pursued then ? A'NANDO ! abstain from entering into conversation with them ? In the course of (religious) communion (with them), Lord, what line of conduct ought to be observed ? Under those circumstances, A'NANDO ! thou shouldst keep thyself guardedly composed."

It is evident, therefore, that the substantive "*paṭipádayé*" signifies "*observance* and *adherence*" and cannot be admitted to bear any signification which implies "*renunciation*."

It is almost immaterial whether the next word be the adjective "*annata*" or the adjective "*ananta*"—I prefer the latter. But "*agháyá*," cannot possibly be the substantive "*aghan*" "sin," in the accusative case plural†. The absence

the root of all ; which with the prefix *paṭi* (*S. prati*) takes the neuter sense of 'to follow after (or observe) ;' while by lengthening the *a*, *páda*, it has the active or causal sense of to make observance, to declare, ('*padyate*, he goes, *pádayati* or *pádayate*, he makes to go,) the only alteration I bespoke was *yálatè* to *pálatam*, to agree with *dosam*—but as the *anuswara* is very doubtful in the *Allahabad* copy, I incline to read (Sanskriticè *hidayatapálatah dosahpaṭipadáyè*, 'I declare (what was) the sin cherished in my heart'—with a view of course to renunciation. The substitution of *u* for *o* has many examples :—but I never pretended that the reading of this passage was satisfactory.—En.

* By permutation *d* becomes *jj*, (rather *dy*.—ED.)

† My critic has here been misled by my looseness of translation—had he followed my Sanskrit, he would have seen that *agháyá* was never intended as an accusative plural of *aghan* : I must parse and construe the whole, premising that the texts differ in regard to the final *a* of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th words, which in some copies of the *Delhi* inscription are long, while on the *Allahabad* facsimile they are all short. In the former case (the one I previously adopted) the reading is (Sanskriticè.)

of the aspirate would not be a serious objection, but "*aghan*"* is a neuter noun of the 12th declension. The accusative plural would be "*agáni* or *agé*" and not "*agáyá*," which I read "*agáya*" the dative singular. In this sentence, this word occurs five times, varying in its inflections and gender to agree with the substantive with which it is connected in each instance; proving it therefore to be an adjective, and, I think, "*aggo*" "precious," which is here spelt with a single *g* in conformity with the principle on which all double consonants are represented by single ones in these inscriptions. "*Dhanmakámátáya*" is a *Samása* contraction of "*dhammassa kámátáya*," and signifies "out of devotion to *dhammo*" "*kámá*" being a feminine noun of the seventh declension makes "*kámátáya*" in the instrumental case, but "*agáya-parikháya agáya susúsáya*," again though terminating in the same manner as *kámátáya*, are in the dative case as *sasúsáya* (which I read *Sásánáya*) is a neuter noun of the tenth (?) declension; *bhayéna* and *usáhéna* being, the one a neuter of the twelfth and the other a masculine noun of the first declension, both make their instrumental case in "ena." Without a precise knowledge of the *Páli* grammar, it is impossible to define when a case is *dative* and when *instrumental*. "*Esachakho mama anusathiyá*," you translate, I find, "by these may my eyes be strengthened and confirmed (in recititude)." The participial verb "*anusathiyá*," could not, I imagine, be made to bear in *Páli* the signification you give it. The preposition "*anu*" signifies "following," "continuance," "in due order," when in composition with the root "*sara*" "to remember" (from which *sathiyá* is derived), the compound term always means "to bear in remembrance" or "perpetuate the remembrance of." If there was any thing to be gained by preserving the "eyes" we might certainly

adj. fem. s. 5.	subs. fem. s. 5.	sub. nt. s. 4	sub. fem. s. 5.	ditto	ditto,
<i>Anyata-agháyá</i>	<i>dharmakámátáyá</i>	<i>aghaya</i> ,	<i>parikháyá</i> ,	<i>agháya</i>	<i>susrusáyá</i>
3rd case	sub. s. 3	sub. s. 3	pro. 1	sub. s. 1	pro. 6 verb pot. s. 3.
<i>aghena</i>	<i>bhayena</i> ,	<i>aghena utsáhena</i> ,	<i>esa</i> —	<i>chakshuh</i> ,	<i>mama anustheyát</i>

"from the all-else-sinful religion-desire, from examination to sin, from desire to listen to sin (sc. to hear it preached of) by sin-fear, by sin-enormity,—thus may the eye of me be confirmed."

In this translation I have preserved every case as in the Sanskrit, and I think it will be found that the same meaning is expressed in my first translation.

If the short *a* be preferred, the 5th case, *kamatáyá* and *parikháyá*, both feminine substantives must be changed to the 3rd, Sans. *kámátáyai* and *parikháyai* (in *Páli*, *kámátáya* and *parikháya*)—and the sense will be only changed to "by the all-else-sinful desire of religion,—by the scrutiny into the nature of sin, &c. That *kámátá* (not *kámá*) is the feminine noun employed (formed like *devatá* from *deva*) is certain; because the nominative case is afterwards introduced '*dharma-prekshá*, *dharma kámátá cha*, &c. Mr. TURNOUR converts these into plural personal nouns, "the observers of dharma, the delimiters in dharma"—but such an interpretation is both inconsistent with the singular verb (*varddhisati*), and with the expression *suve suve* (*svayam svayan*) 'each of itself'—I therefore see no reason to give up any part of my interpretation of the opening sentence of the inscription.—ED.

* *Aghan* is said to be sometimes masculine, *aghó* which makes *aghé* in the accusative plural.—ED.

with a trifling variation, read the passage “*esá*” *chakhú mama annsathiyá,*” *houtu* being understood,—“may my eyes perpetuate the remembrance of these (*dhanmá*).” But I confess I prefer the reading of this passage as it appears in the inscription—“*Esáchakho mama anusathiyá,*”—the verb “*hessati*” being understood,—and “*esá*” agreeing with “*Dhannatipi*.” “This (inscription on *Dhannamo*), moreover, will serve to perpetuate the remembrance of me.” This rendering conveys a nobler sentiment, aspiring to more permanent fame, and is in closer conformity also with the spirit of the last sentence in the fifth inscription.

I have still to dispose of the initial words “*Hidatapálité dusan patipádayé.*” I acknowledge that I was at first entirely baffled by them. When I had completed the translation of all the four inscriptions, save these three words, I found that they were the edicts of an Indian monarch, a zealot in Buddhism? and from these columns being scattered over widely separated kingdoms of India, it appeared equally certain to me that a *Rájádhirája* of India alone could be the author of them. As far as I was aware, two *supreme* monarchs alone of India had become converts to Buddhism, since the advent of ΣΑΚΥΑ. DHANMA’SÓKO in the fourth century before Christ; and ΠΑΨΔΥ at the end of the third century of our era. I could hit upon no circumstance connected with the former ruler which availed me in interpreting these words. I then took up the *Dhátá-dátueanso*, the history of the tooth relic, the only work, I believe, in *Ceylon*, which treats of ΠΑΨΔΥ. I there found, not only that his conversion had been brought about in consequence of the transfer of the tooth relic from *Dantapura* in the Northern Circars, then called *Kálinga*, to his capital *Pátaliputra* the modern *Patna*; but also met with several passages expressive of ΠΑΨΔΥ’s sentiments strictly analagous with those contained in these inscriptions. This discovery, at the moment, entirely satisfied me, that these three hitherto undecipherable words should be read *hi** *Dantapurató dasanan upádayé*: the *hi* being an expletive of the preceding word, and the other words signifying “from *Dantapura* I have obtained the tooth relic.”

Under this impression my former paper on these inscriptions was drawn up. My having subsequently ascertained that ΠΙΥΑΔΑΣΙ is DHANMA’SÓKO does not necessarily vitiate this reading; for the tooth relic was at *Dantapura* during his reign also; and there is no reason why DHANMA’SÓKÓ likewise should not have paid it the reverential honor of transferring it to his capital. But since I have read your translation, I have made out another solution of these words, furnishing the signification you adopt, without incurring the apparent objections noticed above. The sentence written *in extenso*, divested of permutation of letters, and *samása* contraction might be read; † *Hin ataná pálité dúsapatipádayé*. “I have renounced the impious courses cherished by myself.” “*Hin*” is derived from the root *há* “to renounce,” and is the *Varassa* form of the *ajjāṭani* tense. By the 35th rule of CLOUGH’S grammar, p. 13, when *n* precedes a vowel it is frequently suppressed, and *m* or *d* substituted in its place, as for “*áwan assa*” is written “*éwamassa*” for “*étan awócha*,” “*étadawócha*.” By this rule, therefore, “*Hin ataná*” would become “*Hidataná*.” Again by the “*Tapariso*” (*Tatpuru-*

* The alterations requisite to admit of that reading are trifling, and chiefly symbolic, in the ancient alphabet.

† This verb *Hin* is most frequently found in the participial form “*hitwá*.”

sya) rule (No. 19, p. 79) “*atanápálitē*” would be contracted into “*atapálitē*.” The reading *in extenso* then becomes contracted into “*Hidatapálitē*.” “*Dosa*” from “*du*” signifies “impure or impious” and “*patipadayé*,” as already explained are “observances or actions in life.” My reading therefore of the entire sentence is now “I have renounced the impious observances cherished by myself—out of innumerable and inestimable motives of devotion to *Dhanmo*, and out of reverential awe and devout zeal for the precious religion which confers inestimable protection. This (inscription on *Dhanmo*), moreover, will serve to perpetuate the remembrance of me.”

I proceed now to give my authority for pronouncing PİYADASI to be DHANMÁSŌ'KO.

From a very early period, extending back certainly to 800 years, frequent religious missions have been mutually sent to each other's courts, by the monarchs of *Ceylon* and *Siam*, on which occasions an exchange of the *Páli* literature extant in either country appears to have taken place. In the several *Soléan* and *Pándian* conquests of this island, the literary annals of *Ceylon* were extensively and intentionally destroyed. The savage RAJASINGHA in particular, who reigned between A. D. 1581 and 1592, and became a convert from the Buddhistical to the Brahmanical faith, industriously sought out every Buddhistical work he could find, and “delighted in burning them in heaps as high as a cocoanut tree.” These losses were in great measure repaired by the embassy to *Siam* of WILBAGADERE MUDIYANSE, in the reign of KIRTISRĪ RAJASINGHA in A. D. 1753, when he brought back Burmese versions of most of the *Páli* sacred books, a list of which is now lodged in the *Daladá* temple in *Kandy*.

The last mission of this character, undertaken however without any royal or official authority, was conducted by the chief priest of the *Challia* or cinnamon caste of the maritime provinces, then called KAPAGAMA théro. He returned in 1812 with a valuable library, comprising also some historical and philological works. Some time after his return, under the instructions of the late Archdeacon of *Ceylon*, the Honorable Doctor TWISLETON, and of the late Rev. G. BISSET, then senior colonial chaplain, KAPAGAMA became a Convert to christianity, and at his baptism assumed the name of GEORGE NADORIS DE SILVA, and he is now a modliar or chief of the cinnamon department at *Colombo*. He resigned his library to his senior pupil, who is the present chief priest of the *Challias*, and these books are chiefly kept at the wihare at *Dadála* near *Galle*. This conversion appears to have produced no estrangement or diminution of regard between the parties. It is from GEORGE NADORIS, modliar, that I received the Burmese version of the *Tiká* of the *Maháwanso*, which enabled me to rec-

tify extensive imperfections in the copy previously obtained from the ancient temple at *Mulgirigalla*, near *Tangalle*.

Some time ago the modliar suggested to me that I was wrong in supposing the *Maháwanso* and the *Dípawanso* to be the same work, as he thought he had brought the *Dípawanso* himself from Burmah. I was sceptical. In my last visit, however, to *Colombo*, he produced the book, with an air of triumph. His triumph could not exceed my delight when I found the work commenced with these lines quoted by the author of the *Maháwanso** as taken from the *Maháwanso* (another name for *Dípawanso*) compiled by the priests of the *Utáru* wihare at *Anurádhapura*, the ancient capital of *Ceylon*. "I will perspicuously set forth the visits of *Buddho* to *Ceylon*; the histories of the CONVOCATIONS and of the schisms of the theros; the introduction of the religion (of *Buddho*) into the island; and the settlement and pedigree of the sovereign *Wijayo*."

In cursorily running over the book, at the opening of the sixth *Bhánawáro* or chapter, which should contain the history of *DHAMMA'SÓKO*, I found the lines quoted from my note to you in page 791.

This *Dípawanso* extends to the end of the reign of *MAHASINO*, which closed in A. D. 302. As the *Maháwanso*, which quotes from this work, was compiled between A. D. 459 and 477, the *Dípawanso* must have been written between those two epochs. I have only cursorily run over the early chapters to the period where the Indian history terminates without collecting from that perusal any new matter, not found embodied either in the *Maháwanso* or its *Tíká*, excepting the valuable information above mentioned, and a series of dates defining the particular year of each sovereign's reign, in which the several hierarchs of the Buddhistical church died, down to *MOGGALIPUTTATISSO* the chief priest who presided at the THIRD CONVOCATION in the reign of *DHAMMÁSÓKO*. These dates may remove some of the incongruities touched upon in my second paper on Buddhistical annals.

This Burmese copy, however, of the *Dípawanso* is very imperfect. Each *Bhánawáro* ought to contain 250 verses. Several chapters fall short of this complement; and, in some, the same passage is repeated two and even three times.

It will be highly desirable to procure, if possible, a more perfect copy, together with its commentary, (either *Tíká* or *Atthakathá*) from the Burmese empire.

On my return to *Kandy*, and production of the *Dípawanso* to the Buddhist priests, who are my coadjutors in these researches, they

* Vide in the quarto edition the introduction to the *Maháwanso*, page xxxi.

reminded me that there was a *Pāli* work on my own shelves, which also gave to DHANMÁSÓKO, the appellation of PIYADASO. The work is chiefly in prose, and held in great estimation for the elegance of its style: hence called "*Rasawāhini*"—"sweetly flowing" or the "harmonious stream."

The Singhalese version, of which this *Pāli* work is a translation, was of great antiquity, and is no longer extant. The present copies in that language are merely translations of this *Pāli* edition. I am not able to fix the date of this *Pāli* version, as the author does not give the name of the sovereign in whose reign he flourished—but the period is certainly subsequent to A. D. 477, as he quotes frequently from the *Mahāwanso*. The author only states, that this work is compiled by KORATTHAPÁLO, the pious and virtuous incumbent of the *Tanguttawankapariwéno* attached to the *Mahawihāro* (at *Anurādhapura*); and that he translates it from an ancient Singhalese work, avoiding only the defects of tautology and its want of perspicuity.

In one of the narratives of this book, containing the history of DHANMÁSÓKO, of ASANDHIMITTA' his first consort after his accession to the Indian empire, of his nephew NIGRÓDHO, by whom he was converted to Buddhism, and of his contemporary and ally DE'WA'NANPIYATISSO, the sovereign of *Ceylon*,—DHANMÁSÓKO is more than once called PIYADÁSÓ, viz.:

"*Madhudāyako pana wānijo Déwalókató chawitwá, Pupphapuré rójakulé up-pajitwá PIYA'DASO kumáro hutwá chhattan ussápetwá sakala-jambódipá éka-rájjan akási*.*"

"The honey-dealer who was the donor thereof (to the *Paché Buddha*) descending by his demise from the *Déwalóko* heavens; being born in the royal dynasty at *Pupphapura* (or *Paṭilipura, Patna*); becoming the prince PIYADÁSÓ and raising the *chhatta*, established his undivided sovereignty over the whole of *Jambudīpa*"—and again—

"*Anágaté Piyadásó, náma kumáro chhattan ussápetwá ASÓKÓ náma DHANMA RA'JA' bhawissati.*"

"Hereafter the prince PIYADÁSÓ having raised the *chhatta*, will assume the title of ASÓKÓ the DHANMA RA'JA', or righteous monarch."

It would be unreasonable to multiply quotations which I could readily do, for pronouncing that PIYADÁSÓ, PIYADASINO‡ or PIYADASI, according as metrical exigencies required the appellation to be written, was the name of DHANMÁSÓKO before he usurped the Indian empire; and it is of this monarch that the amplest details are found in *Pāli* annals. The 5th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th chapters of the *Mahāwanso* contain exclu-

* Vide page 24 of the *Mahāwanso* for an explanation of this passage.

† Parasol of dominion.

‡ Piyadassino is the genitive case of Piyadasi, प्रियदर्शिनः—ED.

sively the history of this celebrated ruler, and there are occasional notices of him in the *Tiká* of that work, which also I have touched upon in my introduction to that publication. He occupies also a conspicuous place in my article No. 2, on Buddhistical annals. His history may be thus summed up.

He was the grandson of CHANDAGUTTO (SANDRACOTTUS) and son of BINDUSÁRO who had a numerous progeny, the issue of no less than sixteen consorts. DHANMÁSÓKO, who had but one uterine brother, named TISSO, appears to have been of a turbulent and ambitious character; BINDUSÁRO consigned him to an honorable banishment by conferring on him the government of *Ujjéni* (*Oujcin*)* “in his apprehension arising from a rumour which had prevailed that he (ASÓKO) would murder his own father; and being therefore desirous of employing him at a distance, established him at *Ujjéni*, conferring the government of that kingdom on him.”

While administering that government he formed a connection with CHE'TIYA DE'WI a princess of *Chétiyagiri*, and had by her a son and daughter, MAHINDO and SANGHAMITTA', who followed their father to *Patilipura*, subsequently entered into the sacerdotal order, and were the missionaries who converted *Ceylon* to Buddhism. CHE'TIYA DE'WI herself returned to her native city. On his death-bed, BINDUSÁRO sent a “letter” recalling him to his capital, *Patilipura*. He hastened thither, and as soon as his parent expired, put all his brothers, excepting TISSO, to death, and usurped the empire. He raised TISSO to the dignity of *Uparájá*,—which would appear to be the recognition of the succession to the throne.

In the 4th year after his accession, being the year of *Buddho* 218, and before Christ 325†, he was inaugurated, or anointed king. In the 3rd year of his inauguration, he was converted to Buddhism by the priest NIGRODHO the son of his eldest murdered brother, SUMANO. In the 4th year TISSO resigned his succession to the empire, and became a priest. In the 6th MAHINDO and SANGHAMITTA also entered into the sacerdotal order. In the 17th the THIRD CONVOCATION was held, and missionaries were dispatched all over Asia to propagate Buddhism. In the 18th MAHINDO arrived in *Ceylon*, and effected the conversion of the Ceylonese monarch DE'WANANPIYATISSO and the inhabitants of this island. In the same year SANGHAMITTA, the bo-tree and relics were sent by him to *Ceylon*. In the 30th his first con-

* Introduction to the *Maháwanso*, p. xlii.

† The second paper on “Buddhistical Annals” notices the discrepancy of about 60 years between this date, and that deduced from the date of European classical authors connected with ALEXANDER'S invasion.

sort espoused after his accession, ASANDHIMITTA', who was zealously devoted to Buddhism, died; and three years thereafter he married his second wife. He reigned 37 years.

The five short insulated lines at the foot of the *Allahabad* pillar, having reference to this second empress, is, by its position in the column, a signal evidence of the authenticity, and mutual corroboration of these inscriptions and the *Páli* annals. As DHANMA'SÓKO married her in the 34th year of his reign, she could not have been noticed in the body of the inscriptions which were recorded on the 27th. I fear we do not yet possess a correct transcript of these five lines*. The passage in the *Maháwanso* which refers to this queen is curious, and may hereafter assist the correct translation of these five lines. I therefore insert it.

- 1 *Aṭhārasāthi wassamki Dhammasókassa Rājino Mahámégha-wanāramé mahábódhi patiṭṭhahi.*
- 2 *Tató dwádasamé wassé mahési tassa rájino piyá Asandhimittá sá mātá Sambuddhamāmiká.*
- 3 *Tató chatutthawassamhi, Dhammasóko mahāpati tassárakkhan mahésitté ṭhapési wósamá sayán.*
- 4 *Tatótu totiyé wassé sábalárupamánini*
“*mayápiccha ayán rájá mahábódhin mamáyati,*”
- 5 *Iti kódhawasán gantwá, attanótattha káriká maṇḍukaṇṭakayógena mahábódhimaghátayi.*
- 6 *Tató chatutthé wassamhi Dhammasóko maháyasó anichchatáwasampattó: sattatinsosamá imá.*

“In the eighteenth year of the reign of DHAMMA'SÓKO, the bo-tree was planted in the *Mahámégawano's* pleasure garden, (at *Anurádhapura*). In the twelfth year from that period, the beloved wife of that monarch, ASANDHIMITTA', who had identified herself with the faith of Buddha, died. In the fourth year (from her demise), the rájá DHAMMA'SÓKO, under the influence of carnal passions, raised to the dignity of queen consort, an attendant of her's (his former wife's). In the third year from that date, this malicious and vain creature who thought only of the charms of her own person, saying, “this king, neglecting me, lavishes his devotion exclusively on the bo-tree,—in her rage (attempted to) destroy the great bo with the poisoned fang of a toad. In the fourth year from that occurrence, this highly gifted monarch, DHAMMA'SÓKO, fulfilled the lot of mortality. These years collectively amount to thirty-seven.”

I have not had time to examine the fifth inscription round the *Delhi* column carefully, and I apprehend that the transcript is not altogether perfect yet. The last line and half of this inscription, I should be disposed to read thus :

“*E'tán Dáwānanpiya áha; 'iyán dhanmalibi ata aṭhasiláthambáni, Wísaliṭṭha-lékhániwa tata kantawiyá: éna ésa chirathikasiya.*” In the *Páli* considered

* See page 966 which had not reached the author when the above was written.—ED.

the most classical in Ceylon, the sentence would be written as follows : *Etaṅ Dēvānanpiya āha : iyaṅ dhanmalipi atha atthasilāthambāni Wēśālitṭha-lēkkāniwa tatha (tatha) katā ; tena ēśā chiratṭhittikā siyā.*

“ DĒ'WA'NAN'PIYA delivered this (injunction). Thereafter eight stone columns have been erected in different quarters like the inscriptions on ΔΙΑΝΜΟ established at Wēśālī. By this means this (inscription) will be perpetuated for ever.”

If this reading be correct*, as I have said before, we have still five more of these columns to discover in India.

I would wish to notice here that there are several errata in the Pāli quotations in the July journal occasioned, probably, by the indistinction of the writing of my copyist. I mention this merely to prevent Pāli scholars from inferring that those errata are peculiarities in the orthography of that language as known in Ceylon. For instance in page 586, you quote me as translating *Viyódhanmá* “ perishable things,” whereas the words ought to have been “ *Waya-dhanmá.*”

The inscription fronting north (as corrected by Mr. TURNOUR.)

1. Dēvānanpiya Pāṇḍu sō rājā hēwan āhā “ Sattawīsati
2. wasa abhisitēna mé iyaṅ danmalipi likhāpitā-
3. hi. Dantapurato Dasanan upādayin, ananta agāya danmakāmatāya
4. agāyaparikhāya, agāyasāsānāya, agēna bhayena,
5. agēnanusāhēna ; ēśāchakho mama anusathiyā.
6. Dhanmapēkhā, dhanmakāmatācha, suwē suwē, waḍhitā. waḍhisantichewa.
7. Purisāpicha mé, rakusācha, gawayācha matimācha anuwidhiyantu
8. sanpātipādayantucha, aparanchaparancha samādayitwā hēmēwā antā
9. mahāmatāpi. E'sahiwidhi yā iyaṅ, dhanmēna pālītā, dhanmēna widhinā
10. dhanmēna sikhāyatā, dhanmēna galīli.” Dēvānanpiya Pāṇḍu sō rājā
11. hēwau āhā : “ Dhanmō sādhuḱiyancha dhanmēti. Apāsananwā bahūkan yāni

* This reading involves so many alterations of the text that I must demur to it, especially as on re-examination I find it possible to improve my own reading so as to render it (in my own opinion at least) quite unobjectionable. The correction I allude to is in the reading of *āthā*, which from the greater experience I have now gained of the equivalents of particular letters, I am inclined to read as the Sanskrit verb *āstāt* (Pāli *āthā*).—The whole sentence Sanskritized will be found to differ in nothing from the Pāli—except in that *stambha* is masculine in the former and neuter in the latter:—and that the verb *kataviyā* is required to agree with it.

Iyaṅ dharmalipi ata āstāt, sila-stambhā (ni)vā siladhārikā(ni)vā tatah kar-taviyā (ni), ena (or yena) eśhā chirasthiti syāt.

“ In order that this religious edict may stand (remain), stone pillars and stone slabs (or receptacles) shall be accordingly prepared;—by which the same may endure unto remote ages.”

Āthā might certainly be read as *ashṭo* eight, but the construction of the sentence is thereby much impaired, and further it is unlikely that any definite number should be fixed upon, without a parallel specification of the places where they should be erected.—ED.

12. dayadáni saché sóchayé chakhudánépi mé bahuwidhadinno ? Dipada-
13. chatupadésa pariwaracharésu wiwidhémé anugahé katé ; A'pané
14. dakhinéyé anánipicha mé bahúni kayanáni katáni. Etáya mé
15. atháya iyan dhanmalipi likhápítá héwan auapatipajatu ; chiran
16. thítékáche hótiti. Yócha héwan sanpatipajisati, ésákatan karontíti !"
17. Déwánanpiya Pándu só rájá héwan áhá : "' Kayananméwa dakhati' iyan mé
18. ' kayanókatóti' uó na papan dakhati : iyan mé ' pápókatóti' iyanwa ' ádinawá'
19. námati. Dupachawékhóchakhó ésá, éwanchakhó ésá dakhiyé ; imá na
20. édinawagámininána. Athacha diné, nithuliyé, kódhamáué, isu-
21. ké, léuanawhaké, máralábhhasayásé, ésabádhádkhá, iyan mé-
22. pi dinakáyé, iyan manan mé páratikáyé.

The inscription fronting East.

1. Déwánanpiya Pándu só rájá héwan áhá. " Sattawísati
2. wasa abhísiténa mé iyan dhanmalipi likhápítá. Lókasa
3. hitasukháya sátan apahátattá dhanmawudhi. Pápówá
4. héwan lókasa hitan wakhati. Pachawékháma athan iyan.
5. Ní'ésu héwan patiyá saaténu, héwan apikathésu,
6. kámakáni sukhá awhámti. Tatháchéwan dahámi héméwá-
7. séwanikáyésu pachuwékhámi. Séwa Pásandhápí mé pújanti
8. wiwidháya pújáya. Ichin iyan ataná pachúpagamané
9. samámokhiyamaté. Sattawísati wasa abhísiténa mé
10. iyan dhanmalipi likhápítá."
11. Déwánanpiya Pándu só rájá héwan áhá. " Yó atikaata-
12. antaré rájáné poséhéwa irisa kathan jáné.
13. Dhanmawadhíyé wadhéya ; nócha jáné anúrúpáya dhanmawadhíyá
14. wadhitha" Etan Déwánaapiya Pándu só rájá héwan áhá. " Esama-
15. puṭhan atikantécha antaré héwan irisa rájáné, kathan jáné ?
16. aaurupáya dhanmawadhíya wadhayéti ? Róchojaaó anurupáya
17. dhanmawadhíyá wadhéthá sékinapújané anupatipajayé.
18. Kárasujaná aaurupáya dhanmawadhíyá, wadhíyanti ; kanasukáai
19. aṭṭhamayéhi ramawadhíyanti. E'tan Déwánanpiya Pándu só héwan
20. áhá " ésamé puṭhan dhanmasówanéna séwayé. Mé dhanmánusatáué
21. anusésami. E'tan janá sutan anupatipajipatá achan namásatá."

The Inscription fronting South.

1. Déwánanpiya Pándu só rájá héwan áhá. " Sattawísati wasa
2. abhísiténa mé, imáni satáni awadhíyáni katháni-séyathá-
3. suké, s'riká, arané, chakawáké, hansa, nandinukhá, góráṭhé,
4. jatuká, nbá, káparéká, datti, anthikamawé, wédawéyaká,
5. gangapuputhaká, sankajamawé, kaḍhathasagaká, panarasé, simaré,
6. sandiké, rókapadá, parasaté, sétskapóté, gámakapóté,
7. savé, chatupadé, yepi ; luddagauó été nachakhádiyatu.
8. E'lakécha, súkúécha, gabhaniwapáyimináwa, awadhíyápentu ke-
9. pichakéna ; ansamansiké wadhikaknthé nó kathawíyé : tásé sujíwé
10. notti átwiyé : dáwé anatóyéwá wihásiyéwá, nottipátawiyé,
11. jiwénajiwéné pósitawiyé. Tisu chatumásisu tishyan punamásiyan,
12. tίνidiwasáni, chuddasnn, pannarasan patipadiyé, dhuwéyécha
13. Anupósatté, maré awadhíyé aópi, wikétawiyé. Etániyéwa diwasáni
14. nágawanépi, kwatha, dugasiáni, nnuánaipi jiwánikáyáni
15. nó hantawiyási. Aṭṭhamipakháyé, chawudasíyé panarasíyé tásáyé
16. puawasané tísú chatumásisu, súdiwasáyé, gónáúna rakhitawiyé
17. ajaké, élaké, súkare éwanpi anac nirakhíyatáné, nirakhitawiyé.

18. Tisáy punawásayé chatumásiyé chatumásapakhayé apawasá gónásan-
 19. rakhaté nó kathawiyé. Yawa sattawisuti wasa abhisiténu mé, étáye
 20. antarikáyé páúá wísati handhanmókháni katáni.”

The Inscription fronting West.

1. Déwánanpiya Páñdu só rāja héwan áhá. “ Sattawísati wasa
2. abhisiténa mé, iyan dhanmalipi likhápítá. Rajjaká mé
3. bahusu páñsatasahasésú jauésú áyanti. Tésan yó abhiparé
4. danḍawé utapati, yé mé kathi kin ? Té rajjaká aswata abhitá
5. kiumáni. pawatáyéwun janasn janapadasa hitasukan rupadhéwun ;
6. anugahéuwachá, sukháyana dukháyana janísanti ; dhanmáya té nacha-
7. wiyéwa disanti jannu janapadan. Kin téhi attancha parataucha
8. arádhayéwun ? Té rajjaká parusatá patacharitawé man purisáñipimé
9. * ródhanúni pañcharisanti ; tépi chakkéna wiyówudisanti yé na mé rajjaká
10. charantá árunḍhayitawé, athahi pujauwiya táyé dhátiyá nisijita ;
11. aswatharatiwiy tś dháti, charantá mé pujan sukhan parihathawé.
12. Héwan maua rajjaká katé, janapadasa piñasukháyé ; yéna été abhitá
13. aswatha sátnn awamáná, kamáni pawatáyéwúti. E'téna mé rajjakáñan
14. nbbiharawadanḍawé atapatiyé kathé, hitawyéhi éśákiti
15. wiyóhârasamuticha siyá. Dunḍasamatâcha, awaitépichn, mé awuté,
16. bandhana budhânan manusânan tiritadanñinan pawadhâuan, tiní diwasáni, mé
17. Yutté dinné, uitikârikâni niripayihantu, Jiwitáyé tânaa
18. nésantanwá niripayantu : dânan dahantu : pahitakan rupawâpanwá karontu.
19. Irichimé héwan nirn dhasipi karipiparatan arádhayéwapi : janasaclia
20. wadhati : wiwidhadanmacharané ; sayamé dânasanwihhégóti†.”

Translation of the Inscription fronting North.

The rāja PA'NDU, who is the delight of the déwos, has thus said.

“ This inscription on *Dhanmo* is recorded by me who have attained the twenty-seventh year of my inauguration. From *Dantapura*, I have obtained the tooth (relic of BUDDHO), out of innumerable and inestimable motives of devotion to *Dhanmo*,—with the reverential awe, and devout zeal (due) to the precious reliou which confers inestimable protection. This (inscription), moreover, may serve to perpetuate the remembrance of me.

“ Those who are observant of *Dhanmo*, and delight in *Dhanmo*, growing in grace, from day to day, will assuredly prosper. Let my courtiers, guards, herdsmen, and learned men, duly comprehend, and fully conform to (the same) uniting (to themselves) all classes, the rich and the poor, as well as the grandees of the land. A course such as this, sustained by *Dhanmo*, inculcated by *Dhanmo*, and sanctified by *Dhanmo*, is the path (prescribed) by *Dhanmo*.”

The rāja PA'NDU, who is the delight of the déwos, has thus said.

“ Thus this *Dhanmo* is most excellent in its righteousness.”

Wherefore should I who have been a charitable donor, in various ways, grieve (to bestow) charitable gifts, whether it be a little food, or a great offering, or even the sacrifice of my eyes ? To bipeds and quadrupeds, as well as those employed in my service, various acts of benevolence have been performed by me ;

* The letter *chh* is read as *r* throughout ; and the letter *u* as *ru*.—ED.

† By comparing this version with that published in July, it will be seen to what extent the license of altering letters has been exercised. The author has however since relinquished the change of the Rāja's name, in consequence of his happy discovery of PIYADASI's identity.—ED.

and at the *Apáná* (hall of offerings) to those worthy of offerings, by me, both food and other articles, involving great expenditure, have been provided.

“Let it be duly understood that this inscription has been recorded by me with this object, as well as that it should endure for ages. Would but one person fully conform thereto, what would (not) the rest do !”

The rāja PA'NDU, who is the delight of the dévos, has thus said.

“(It may be said) ‘this (dispensation) appears to be prodigality itself;’ or of me ‘he is addicted to prodigality.’ That would not appear to us to be an act of impiety; or this, of me, ‘he is a sinner;’ or this, ‘he is a miscreant,’ or any such reproaches. The evil designing man (may say) these things, and such a person may represent them so, but they are not the road to (do not inflict) degradation.”

“Moreover, by my contemplating the distresses affecting the poor, the unfortunate, the resentful, the proud, the envious, those bent with age, and those on the eve of becoming a prey to death,—(that contemplation) would produce in me a due sense of commiseration towards the destitute.”

The Inscription fronting East.

The rāja PA'NDU, who is the delight of the dévos, has thus said.

“This inscription on *Dhanmo* has been recorded by me who have attained the twenty-seventh year of my inauguration. *Dhanmo* prevails for the happiness and welfare of mankind; as well as to prevent the forfeiture of their salvation. Even the sinner would admit, that it (is essential for) the happiness of mankind. Let us, therefore, steadfastly contemplate this truth. While righteous men thereby become devoted to charity, and are bent on discoursing (thereon), let me encourage their benevolent proceedings. In like manner, let me extend my solicitude towards the wealthy; and let me be specially regardful of the multitudes under my sway. Even my *Pósandhi* subjects present me with various tributes. I formed this resolve, under the conviction of the supreme beatitude, (resulting) from an individual himself setting an example.”

The rāja PA'NDU, who is the delight of the dévos, has thus said.

“This inscription on *Dhanmo* is recorded by me who have attained the twenty-seventh year of my inauguration—should any person, after the extinction of my regal authority, learn from my subjects themselves, such a precept as this, he would prosper by the grace of *Dhanmo*; should he not acquire that knowledge, he (cannot) prosper by the orthodox *Dhanmo*.” The rāja PA'NDU, who is the delight of the dévos, has thus asked this (query). “He, who after the extinction of my authority, would not acquire this knowledge, how should he learn these royal mandates? how can he prosper by the orthodox *Dhanmo*? The well disposed person, (who) has prospered by the orthodox *Dhanmo*, would evince gratitude for the benevolence of his benefactors. (All) conforming, good men prosper by the orthodox *Dhanmo*, and realize the bliss of the eight heavens.” The rāja PA'NDU, who is the delight of the dévos, has declared this also. “He who attends to this precept of mine, would by the observance of *Dhanmo* lead a righteous life. Let me also, by the observance of *Dhanmo*, attain an exalted station (of righteousness). The inhabitants at large, who conform to this edict, (will) eschew evil.”

Translation of the Inscription fronting South.

The rāja PA'NDU, who is the delight of the dévos, has thus said.

“ By me, who have attained the twenty-seventh year of my inauguration, these animals have been forbid to be killed,—namely, parrots and mainas (*gracula religiosa*) in the wilderness; the brahmany duck (*anas casaca*); the goose (rather the mythological and fabulous “*hansa*”); the nandimuká (supposed to be the fabulous “*kinnari*”); the golden maina (*turdus salica*); the hat, the crane, the blue pigeon, the gallinuli, the sankagamawé, wédawéyaká, the gangapuputhaká, the sankagamawé, the kađhathasayaká, the panarasé, the simaré, the sandiké, the rókapadá, the parasaté, the white dove, and the village dove, as well as all quadrupeds. These, let not the tribe of huntsmen eat. For the same reason, let not sheep and goats which are fed with stored provender, be slaughtered by any one; and those who are accustomed to receive a portion of the meat (of animals killed) should no longer enter into engagements to have them slaughtered on those terms; nor should ferocious animals either be destroyed; neither in sporting or in any other mode, nor even as a merriment, should they be killed: (on the contrary) by one living creature, other living creatures should be cherished. During (all) the three seasons of the year, on the full moon day of their (lunar months) as well as on these three days, the fourteenth, the fifteenth, and the first (of each moiety of the lunar months) (each of) these being days of religious observance, not only the agonies of slaughtering, but selling also should not be allowed. During these days, at least, on the mountain, in the wilderness, and everywhere, even the multitudes of the various species of animals which may be found disabled, should not be killed. During the three seasons, on the eighth, the fourteenth and the fifteenth (of each moiety of the lunar month) being the holy days devoted to deeds of piety, oxen, goats, sheep and pigs, which are ordinarily kept confined, as also the other species which are not kept confined, should not be restrained. Nor should it even be hinted, on the holydays of the four mouths of each of the seasons, that the stalled oxen even should be kept confined. By me, who have attained the twenty-seventh year of my inauguration, during the course of that period, living creatures have been released from the twenty evils (literally restraints) to which they were subjected.”

The Inscription fronting West.

The rája PA'NDU, who is the delight of the dévos, has thus said.

“ This inscription on *Dhanmo* is recorded by me in the twenty-seventh year of my inauguration. My public functionaries intermingle among many hundred thousands of living creatures, as well as human beings. If any one of them should inflict injuries on the most alien of these beings, what advantage would there be in this my edict? (On the other hand) should these functionaries follow a line of conduct tending to allay alarm, they would confer prosperity and happiness on the people as well as on the country; and by such a benevolent procedure, they will acquire a knowledge of the condition both of the prosperous and of the wretched; and will, at the same time, prove to the people and the country that they have not departed from *Dhanmo*. Why should they inflict an injury either on a countryman of their own or on an alien? Should my functionaries act tyrannically, my people, loudly lamenting, will be appealing to me; and will appear also to have become alienated, (from the effects of orders enforced) by royal authority. Those ministers of mine, who proceed on circuit, so far from inflicting oppressions, should henceforth cherish them, as the infant in arms is cherished by the wet-nurse; and those experienced circuit ministers,

moreover, like unto the wet-nurse, should watch over the welfare of my child (the people). In such a procedure, my ministers would ensure perfect happiness to my realm."

"By such a course, these (the people) released from all disquietudes, and most fully conscious of their security, would devote themselves to their avocations. By the same procedure, on its being proclaimed that the grievous power of my ministers to inflict tortures is abolished, it would prove a worthy subject of joy, and be the established compact (law of the land). Let the criminal judges and executioners of sentences, (in the instances) of persons committed to prison, or who are sentenced to undergo specific punishments, without my special sanction, continue their judicial investigation for three days, till my decision be given. Let them also as regards the welfare of living creatures, attend to what affects their conservation, as well as their destruction: let them establish offerings: let them set aside animosity.

Hence those who observe, and who act up to these precepts would abstain from afflicting another. To the people also many blessings will result by living in *Dhanmo*. The merit resulting from charity would spontaneously manifest itself."

VI.—*Account and drawing of two Burmese Bells now placed in a Hindu temple in Upper India. By Capt. R. WROUGHTON, Revenue Surveyor, Agra division.*

In the month of January last, while engaged upon the revenue survey of zillah *Sirpurah*, I accidentally heard of a celebrated Burmese bell, in the possession of Resáladár BHEEM SINGH (late of the 2nd local horse) and lodged at a *sewala*, the property of that individual, situated in the village of *Nudrohee* on the banks of the *Kalee Nuddee*, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles west from the town of *Khass Gunj*. I was induced to visit the spot, and recognized old acquaintances in the Resáladár and bell; the former having been engaged with me in the night storm of the city of *Arracan*; and the bell, the identical one, which was found upon the capture of that place suspended in the temple (or pagoda) of *Gaudama muni*, a few hundred yards to the N. E. of the old stone fort, being the position occupied by the 2nd regiment of local horse, during the calamitous rainy season of 1825.

The history of this bell is very unsatisfactory, and very brief. Upon the breaking up of the south-eastern division and the return of the troops to Bengal, BHEEM SINGH solicited permission to carry away the bell in question, and he states that consent was given to his application, both by the late respected General MORRISON, and Mr. T. C. ROBERTSON, Political Agent; upon what authority however, this proceeding can be justified, I know not, neither am I disposed to agitate

the question, because it might disturb its worthy owner in the possession of an article, which in its present position is well calculated to perpetuate the success of the Company's arms in Burmah, and to which BHEEM SINGH attaches the greatest value.

The Resáladár (an active fellow and gallant soldier) when the 2nd local horse marched from *Arracan* to *Chittagong*, by the interior, (or *Rutnapulling* route,) contrived to persuade the master of a sloop to convey the bell to that station, where it arrived before its owner, was seized by the officer in charge of the magazine, and was only liberated and restored to BHEEM SINGH, consequent on a reference being made to the supreme government. From *Chittagong* the bell was conveyed in a country boat, to *Futtyghur*, and from that place was finally transported on a truck constructed for the occasion, to its present situation. The above comprises all the information I could gather from the Resáladár regarding it.

Nudrohee is fixed on the direct route from *Mutra* to *Soron* on the Ganges viâ *Hathras*, *Sikundruh raow*, and *Murarah*; thousands of pilgrims from the western states frequent this road, on their way to bathe in the Ganges, and by this means the celebrity of the bell has spread far and wide.

BHEEM SING having permitted me to examine the bell and make a drawing of it, I thought the opportunity a favorable one, and availed myself of his good humour and civility; and I was the more urged to take this trouble, as I consider the bell a beautiful specimen of workmanship, of great antiquity, and well worthy a report and representation being made of it.

Having constructed a wooden hollow paralleloepidon for the purpose, I ascertained that the solidity of the bell equalled a prism, the area of whose base is the square of 44.3 inches \times by the height 6.278 which gives for the content 12320, 41222 cubic inches: the specific gravity of the metal which is a near approximation to the truth, I determined in the following manner.

Mr. JAMES GARDNER of *Khass Gunj* possesses a small Burmese bell, which was also brought round from *Arracan* by the late Lieut.-Col. GARDNER, and this bell the former gentleman kindly lent to me. I weighed it with English weights and scales (thermometer Farht. scale, ranging 60°) both in and out of water, and found it 224lbs. 4 ounces, and 195lbs. 12 ounces avoirdupois respectively, which makes its specific gravity 7868; its solidity I ascertained to be equal to a cylinder, the base of a diameter 17.4 inches and the height 3.2 inches which gives 760.920 cubic inches, and as the material, or the metal

of which the small bell is composed assimilates very closely with that of the large one, I have used it to determine the weight of the latter, and which I find by the simple rule of proportion is $31\frac{1}{3}$ hundred weight nearly.

The accompanying sketches I personally executed from scale and measurement, and can vouch for their critical resemblance to the originals; and the facsimile of the inscriptions I have carefully compared, and can pronounce with safety upon their accuracy. I may here mention that until I filled the crevices of the letters on the bell *with yellow ochre* (and I tried many other colors), I found it utterly impossible to distinguish, and copy faithfully the inscription through the tracing paper, although the paper was extremely thin, oiled, and rendered transparent for the purpose.

The representation of the small bell, has been executed on a somewhat larger scale, because I could not otherwise satisfactorily exhibit its mouldings.

I will not occupy your time with any further observations, the drawings and copy of inscriptions will speak for themselves; and if they be considered useful and acceptable to the Asiatic Society, the little trouble I have taken will be amply compensated.

I cannot however resist communicating the particulars of an attempt made by a native to impose upon me a feigned translation of the inscription, because the circumstance will shew how far the disposition of these people leads them to practise deception and roguery whenever opportunity offers, and they can hope to turn it to account.

I had offered a remuneration of two goldmohurs to any person who could, and was willing to translate the inscription, and I made this offer because I had heard that one or two Arracanese Mugs who came round to Bengal with GARDNER'S horse, were residing in the neighbourhood of *Khass Gunj* and could accomplish the task: I tried one man and found him incompetent, when a Tanjore brahmin who had come to this part of the country on a pilgrimage presented himself, declared his ability to undertake the office, and to convince me of his fitness, produced several specimens of a written character having a strong resemblance to Burmese; and which in my presence he appeared to read and write with facility. Flattering myself that I had found a clever and useful fellow, I at once set him to work on the large bell inscription; and attended on the following day at the *sewala* to see what progress had been made. I found that one sheet containing 10 lines, had been faithfully transcribed; and that the brah-

min had copied 4 more lines on the second sheet ; the first I directed him to transcribe again on a new sheet, while I would complete the second. I now determined to put this brahmin's honesty to the test, and while the fellow was busily engaged at a distance from me, I entered one line on the second sheet, resembling the inscription, that is, the line contained Burmese letters throughout, which I had fancifully put together : to this line I added four or five others correctly traced, and then called the brahmin to translate the whole sheet. It amused me to find, that he read *my composition* and the Burmese, with equal readiness, and apparent confidence, but when I applied the copied inscription to the bell, and he perceived no resemblance in the copy to the original, and that I had gravelled his ingenious effort to delude and rob me, it would be difficult indeed to describe his discomfiture. He never for an instant endeavoured to deny the attempt at imposition, but coolly defended the proceeding on the grounds of poverty, and the almost certain prospect he entertained of escaping detection.

NOTE.—Having prepared the plates for this paper we have inserted them in the present volume, although we are unprepared to subjoin a copy and translate of the longer inscription, which however perfectly executed in facsimile has proved beyond RATNA PAULA'S power of deciphering, as well as that of Col. BURNEY and his Burmese Pandit now in Calcutta. By their advice I have sent it to Mr. BLUNDELL at *Moulmein*, but after all nothing very interesting can be expected from a document of such a nature. The smaller inscription Col. BURNEY obligingly took in hand, and we have the pleasure to subjoin his note with the text in Burmese—the facsimile it is not necessary to lithograph.—ED.

Inscription on the Small bell.

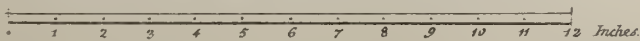
ဇေယတူ။ ဒေဝဒေဝိနိ။ ရာဇရာဇိနိ။ မဟာမုနိနိ။ သီရိန္ဒရ။
 လောကဗျက်ရှူ။ သုံးလှမှန်ကင်း။ တရားမင်းသည်။ လေးစင်းဩ
 စာအာသဝတို့နှိနှစ်မွန် : ကုန်သောဝေနေယသတ္တဝါအပေါင်း
 တို့အားတရားတည်း ဟူသောအမြြက်ငြိမ်းဆေးထိုက်ကျေး
 တော်မူ၍ပရိနိဗ္ဗာန်ဝံယူတော်မူပြီး သည်နော်ကာလ။ ဣ
 ကြိုက်ခဲဗ္ဗစွာသောသာသနာတော်အတွင်း : နှိုကြိုကြိုက်သ
 ဖြင့်အသင့်နှစ်လုံးစွဲသုံးအမှန်သဗ္ဗညာဏ် သက်လေ့ရှိသော

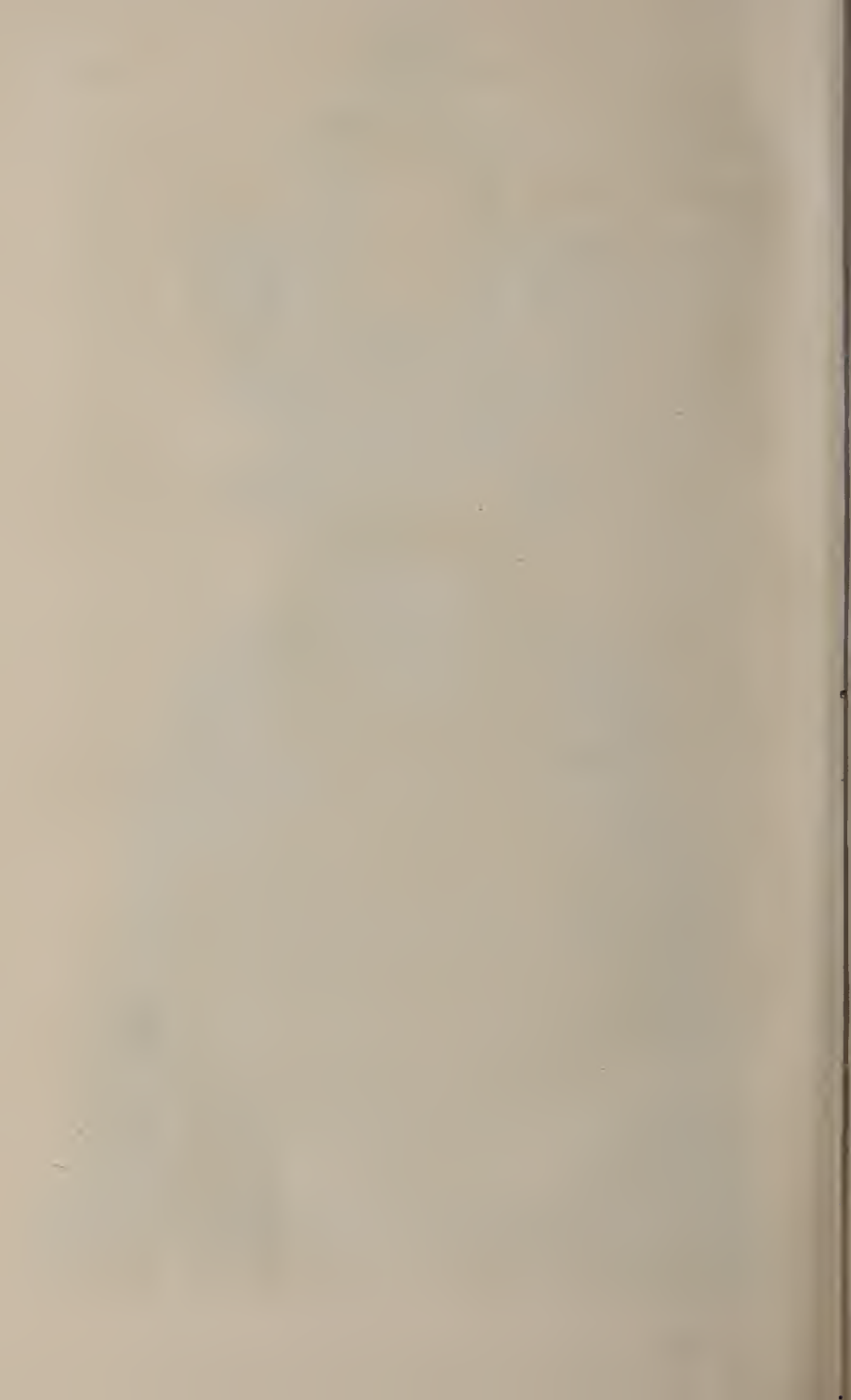
မောင်မှတ်သမီး မောင်နွဲ့သည်။ သဒ္ဓါ။ သီလ။ သုတ။ စာဂ။ စ
 သော သူတော်ကောင်းတို့၏တရား နှိမ့်မွေ့လျော်သည်ဖြစ်၍ချ
 ဖ်မြဲကြည်လင်စွာသမ္မာဠိတိဂှိလျက်။ သမုတ်၍နုညေဝတီပြ
 ည်ကြီးဝယ်ရေဒီးအစုံသောတန်ခိုး ဗျာဒိတ်ဟာ ခြေဖျာသော
 ရောင်မြည်တော်စသောဂုဏ်နှင့်ပြည့်စုံတော်မူသောမွေ့တော်
 ဓာတ်တော်တို့၏ကိန်း ဝပ်စုဝေးရာမဟာစေတီဘုရား နှိကြေး
 ချိန် ၉၂၂ သောင်း ဤခေါင်းလောင်းကိုအပေါင်းရေမြေသုန္ဒရေ
 အား သက်သေတည်ထားထိုင်ကြားဖွဲ့ဒါန်းပါ၏။ ။ ဤသို့ဖွဲ့
 ရသောကုသိုလ်အဖို့ကိုလည်း ရေမြေသခင်။ လက်နက်စ
 ကြာအရှင်ဆဒ္ဓါန်ဆင်မင် ။ သခင်အသျှင်သဝအရှင်မင်း ။ တ
 ရား ကြံဘုရားမင်း မိဘုရားသားတော်မြေးတော်တို့အား အမျှ
 ဝေ၏။ မွေးသည်ဘခင်မိခင်ဆရာသမားမှစ၍သုံးဆယ်တံ
 နှိကျင်လည်ကုန်သောဝေနေယသတ္တဝါအပေါင်း တို့အားအမျှ
 ဝေပါ၏။ ။ ဤသို့ပြုရဖွဲ့ဒါနုကြောင့်ဘဝနောင်လိသံသရာအ
 ဆက်ဆက်တို့၌ကောင်း သောသုဂတိဘဝတို့၌လျားသည်မြ
 ဖ်၍ဒုစရိုက်တရား ဆယ်ပါး တို့ကိုကြည်ရှောင်နှိုင်သဖြင့်သ
 သဒ္ဓမ္မတရား ဆယ်ပါး တို့ကိုကျင့်ဆောင်သောယောကျာ်းမြ
 တ်ဖြစ်၍အဆုံး စွန်သောဘဝ၌ခေမာပူရန်ပြည်နိဗ္ဗာန်သို့အမှ
 န်ရေခံရပါလိသော။ ။ ရတနာမဏ္ဍိုင်။ ငရောင်ပြိုင်တွင်။ မြစို
 င်တခို။ တောင်ကွဲ။ န် ။ ဆိုသော။ မြန်ထိုင်းအမရ။ နန်းရွှါနုဝယ်။
 စကြသခင်။ ဆဒ္ဓါန်ရှင်ဟု။ ဘုရင်ကြီးစစ်။ ဖြစ်လတ်သရော်

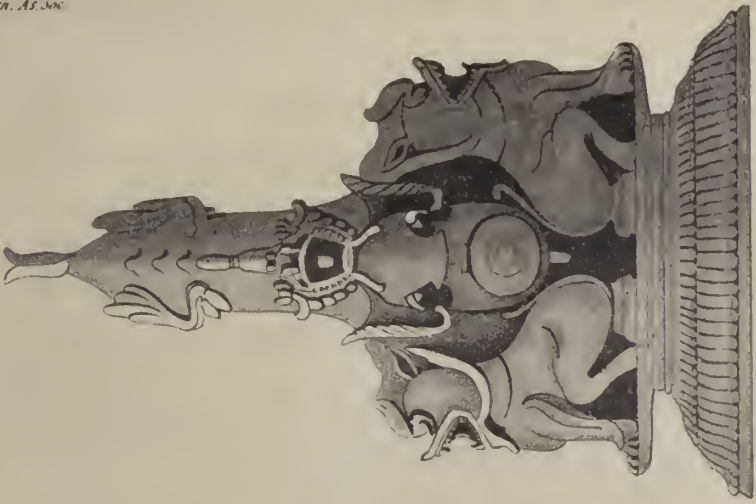


126. Wrought-iron Bell.

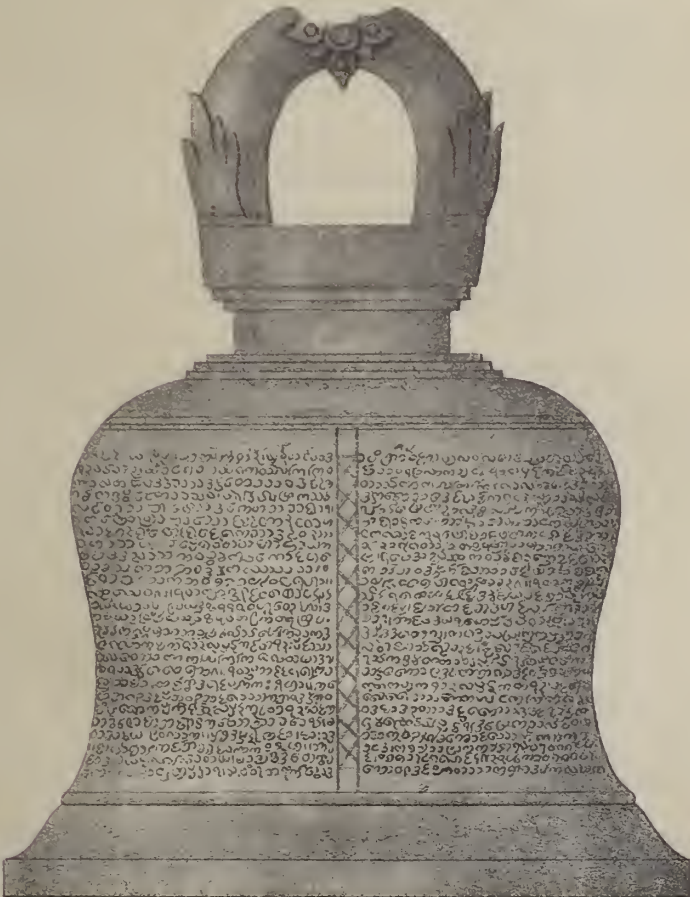
Small Burmese Bell, the property of James Gardner Esq. Khasgung
 Solidity, 761 Cub. Inches - Weight, 2 Hundred Weight - Specific Gravity 7268.





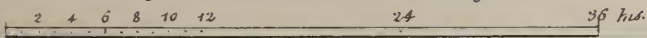


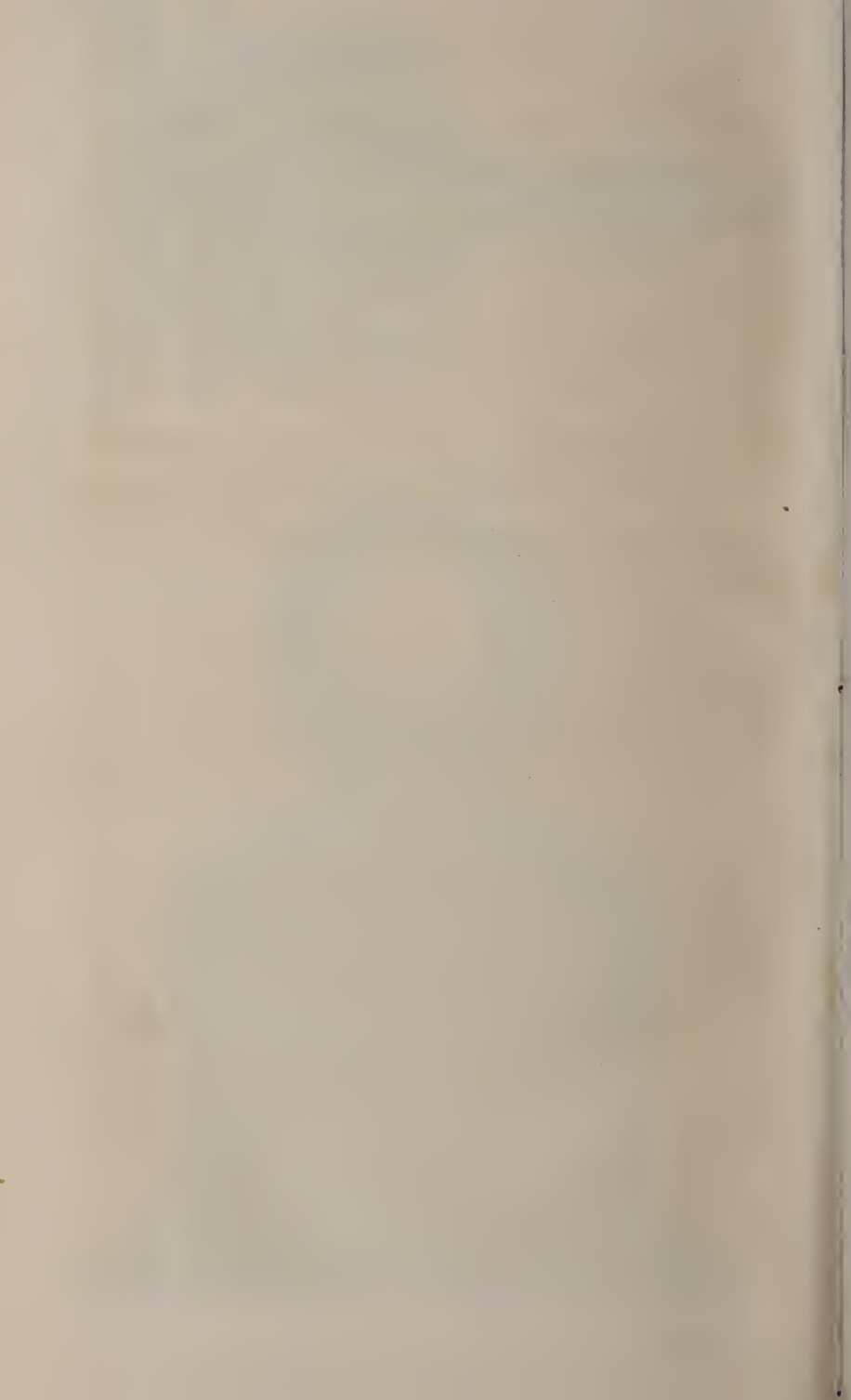
Counter View of the upper Portion of the small Bell.



Large Burmese Bell, at, Nudrohee Ghat, on Kallee Muddae, Purg^h Mararuh, zillah Allygurh. brought from Arracan by Bheem Singh Resaltar. 2^d Loc^o Horse 1826.

Solidity 12320 Cub. Inches. Weight 31 1/2 Hundred Weight.





။လွှဲက်တော်၌ ။ ရှင်တော်သဒ္ဓါ ။ ပွင့်လင်းသာ၌ ။ သညာ
 အန္တတံ။ဝစနတ်၌ ။ မောင်မှတ်ခေါ်တွင် ။ အိမ်ရှင်မကြီး ။
 ဇနီးရှင်အူ ။မောင်သူမယ်ယာ ။ မောင်နှစ်မတို့ ။ ဖြူဆွသဒ္ဓါ ။စေ
 တနာဖြင့် ။ ထောင်ရာဇက ။ဒသအဇ္ဈာ ။နှစ်ကောဇာတွင် ။ရာသီ
 ပြီသာ ။ဂိဗ္ဗန္တ၌ ။တွက်ဆသချက် ။ ရက်အသင်ဝယ် ။သတ္တဘိ
 သ ။ခါကောင်းရ၍ ။ လက္ခဏိယာ ။ သန့်ပြန့်စွာ၌ ။ များစွာကံ
 ကျေး ။လက်ခပေးလျက် ။ ကြေးအသပြာ ။၅ဝသာ၌ ။သံဝါရီ
 က်ညောင်း ။ဒန့် ခေါင်းလောင်းကို ။ရင့် ကြောင်းဆုယူ ။ဤအ
 ဟူ ။သည် ။နတ်လူမြဲဟွားကြေညာရှင်းညောင်သောင်း သော
 င်းသာရခေါ်စေသော ။

"I send you a fair version, which some Burmese at Calcutta and I have succeeded in making out of the facsimile of the inscription on the small *Arracan* bell. We have been obliged to guess one or two words. I send you also a translation of the Burmese, from which you will see that the inscription, like most Burmese inscriptions, contains nothing of any historical interest.—H. B.

Translation.

Be victorious or accomplished! After the period when the sovereign of the *nuts*, the king of kings, the chief of the saints, the most beautiful in appearance, on whom the eyes of the whole world rest, the pinnacle of the three orders of rational beings², and the lord of righteousness, had administered the delicious and relief-giving medicine, the moral law, to all sentient beings who are long immersed in the four streams or currents³, and had proceeded to enjoy the state of *Naibbanu*, MAUNG MEAT and his wife, having come to existence in the time of (GAUDAMA's) religion which is most difficult to meet with⁴, possessing minds properly and sincerely disposed, imbued with true wisdom, taking delight in virtue, piety, charity, and the other duties of good men, and established in proper principles, made an offering, taking the whole earth and water to witness, of this bell weighing 9,230,000⁵, to the *Maha Zedi* pagoda, which is situated in the place called the great city of *Diniawadi* (*Arracan*), and in which are collected and rest the sacred relics (of GAUDAMA), that are complete in the united streams of fire and water, the six-colored flames of light and other miraculous exhibitions⁶. May the merit of this charitable gift

be also shared⁷ by the lord of earth and water, the possessor of the celestial weapon⁸, the master of the tshaddan⁹ king of elephants, the arbiter of life and great king of righteousness (MENDARAGYIH, king of Ava, grandfather of the present king) his queen, sons and grandsons. May it be shared by the parents who gave (us) life, (our) teachers and all sentient beings who pass through the thirty-one different stages of existence¹⁰. (We) desire that in consequence of (our) having thus performed this charitable deed, (we) may, in future successive worlds, exist as good beings in the superior grade of man¹¹, capable of avoiding the ten evil works¹², and given to performing the ten good works¹³, and that in (our) last state of existence, (we) may verily reach the country of *Khemapuram Naibban*.

In Verse.

During the reign of the lord of the celestial weapon, master of the tshaddan elephant and the true great king, who resides at the royal city of *Amarapura* in the Burmese kingdom, which is situated upon that called the southern island, lying within the green division of the four bodies of color that issue joined together from the precious centre post¹⁴, the religion of the lord was extended and prosperous. In the warm season, on what was fixed by astrological calculation to be a prosperous day, the 27th day of the sign Taurus, (Burmese month Katshoun) in the Kauza¹⁵ æra 1180 (corresponding with the 2nd of May, 1818), I, known as, and significantly called by the name of MAUNG MHAT¹⁶, the mistress of my house MA GYIH and wife SHYEN-U, (two wives) and brother and sister, MAUNG THU and MAYA (his two children) have, after paying much, upwards of 50¹⁷ viss, for the hire of labourers, bestowed with pure motives and good will, in view to obtaining the reward (of *Naibban*) through perfection in virtue, this bell, the sound of which when struck extends afar and makes the ear attend. May nats, men and byanhas, above and below, listen to it with delight and cry aloud well done¹⁸!

¹ The Burmese often commence a writing with the Páli phrase *zeyatu*—which is usually interpreted by them to mean, “May it (the work now undertaken) be completed or fulfilled,” but which, some pious Burmese say, rather means, “may they (the evil passions) be overcome,” or “Be victorious over the evil passions.” [It is simply the Sanskrit जयतु ‘be victorious.’—ED.]

² The three superior orders of beings are, *Byanhas*, superior celestial beings; *Nats* inferior ditto, and men.

³ According to the Burmese, there are four streams or currents that bear away all sentient beings, viz.: passion, existence, false doctrine and ignorance. These are also called four restraints or bands.

⁴ The term of GAUDAMA’S religion, it is said, is 5000 years, and Buddhists think that to appear in a state of existence as a human being during this short term is a difficult and fortunate event to a sentient being.

⁵ The figures here are not quite clear, and an examination of the bell itself is necessary to ascertain to which description of weight they refer. If the figures are 9,230,000, they probably mean the small Burmese weight yue, 120 of which

go to the tical, and the weight of the bell will then be 76,916 ticals, 6 mus and 5 yues.

⁶ GAUDAMA'S body displayed many miraculous appearances. He could, whenever he pleased, exhibit a stream of water from one nostril, eye, ear, hand, or foot, and a stream of fire from the other—and six streams of different colored glory were emitted from his body.

⁷ According to the Burmese the merit of a good deed may be participated by others, and particularly by those who praise or encourage the performer of it by exclaiming *thadu*, well done.

⁸ The Hindu *chakri* is the Burmese *tsakyá*, or celestial weapon.

⁹ The Tshaddan elephant is now the usual title of the white elephant, which, in ancient times, when there existed, it is said, ten different species of the animal, was the king or of the first class. Six-colored streams of light issued from its tusks also, whence *tsha-dant* or *tshaddan*, as my poor unfortunate friend, the late MYAWADI WUNGYIH, informed me.

¹⁰ The thirty-one different abodes or stages of existence, according to the Buddhists, have been described by Dr. BUCHANAN and other writers on their religion.

¹¹ A person, according to the Buddhists, cannot attain *Naibban* or be perfected into a Buddha but from a state of existence as man—hence, all Buddhists, and particularly the women, pray that their future existence may be in the superior grade of man.

¹² The ten evil works are 1, murder; 2, theft; 3, adultery; 4, lying; 5, speaking so as to destroy the affection entertained by two persons for each other; 6, speaking harshly or using abusive language; 7, frivolous or idle conversation; 8, coveting the property of others; 9, thinking of injuring others; 10, apostacy.

¹³ The ten good works are 1, charity; 2, keeping the five Buddhist commandments not to kill, steal, commit adultery, use intoxicating substances or tell falsehoods; 3, repeating certain short sentences calculated to restrain evil desires and promote abstraction and indifference to this life; 4, reverence for Buddha, his precepts and disciples, and for one's parents and teachers; 5, performing the services due to the same; 6, distributing the merit of one's good actions among other beings; 7, pleased with, and exclaiming *thadu*, or well done, at the good works of others; 8, hearing GAUDAMA'S religious precepts recited; 9, preaching or communicating a knowledge of the same to others; 10, firmness in religious faith.

¹⁴ The Myenmo Mount is here poetically alluded to. From the four cardinal points of this centre of the Buddhist world to the wall surrounding it, the space is equally divided by four different colors, red, green, yellow and white. In the green space is situated the southern island or *Tsabu-depa*.

¹⁵ The present Burmese æra which commenced A. D. 638.

The number of the year is so given in the verse, that it was at first supposed to be 1118 or 1756, but that date was 27 years before *Arracan* was conquered or *Amarapura* built by MENDARAGYIH, king of *Ava*. Further examination with Burmese satisfied me that the year is 1180 or 1818.

¹⁶ Mhat in Burmese means mark, and the bestower of this bell appears to have been born with some mark or discoloration about his body, whence he was named Mhat or Mark. The verse on the bell may be understood to mean that the donor was mark by nature and Mark by name.

¹⁷ Here again the meaning of the figures is not quite clear, whether referring to the weight of the bell or to the amount of expense incurred.

¹⁸ See note 7.

The last part of the inscription is in verse. Burmese verse consists of four syllables or five pronounced as four. The last syllable or last letter of one verse and the third or second syllable, or last letter of the third or second syllable, of the next verse, or of the two next verses, are made to chime together, and the last syllable or final letter in the last syllable of the last of these verses is often again connected by the same kind of rhyme with the following verses:—e. g.

* Yatana man *daing*¹ || Le yang *pyaing*² dweng || *mya zaing*³ ta kho¹ || taung kyun *tsho*² thau || myan daing *amára*¹ || nan thaná² way || Tsakya³ tha khen¹ || tshaddan *shyen*² hu Bhuren³ gyih *tsit*¹ || *phyit*² lat tharú || let² thek dau⁹ nhait || shyen dau³ tha thana || &c.

The verse is written like prose excepting at the end of each verse there is a *paik* or stop, a double line, like that above shown. The Burmese have an immense collection of poetry and take great pleasure in reciting it, and I have heard my amiable friend, the Catholic Missionary Père TAROLI, admire their poetry exceedingly, declaring that some, which he once read to me, was equal to any thing in Danté !

VII.—*Note on Inscriptions at Udayagiri and Khandgiri in Cuttack, in the lát character.* By JAS. PRINSEP, Sec. As. Soc. &c.

I have already mentioned that on Lieutenant KITTOE'S departure for *Cuttack* I requested him to take the first opportunity of visiting the *Khandgiri* rock for the purpose of re-examining the inscription of which a lithograph was published by Mr. STIRLING in his Statistical Report on the province of *Orissa*.

My zealous friend saw enough, several months ago on a rapid visit there, to prove that the published copy was very incorrect; but it was only lately that he was able to repair to the spot again (a distance of 20 miles from *Cuttack*) to examine and copy the document in detail. I shall presently quote his own account of the difficulties he had to encounter in accomplishing the task I had imposed on his zeal and good nature;—but first I would call attention to a number of short inscriptions in the old character which he discovered on the occasion of his first visit, in the various caves of the neighbouring hill called *Udayagiri*; and which he carefully recompared on his late trip, so as to leave no doubt of their accuracy as now represented in Plate LVII.

from his original sketches. It will be remarked that some of them are accompanied by symbols similar to those of the western caves in Colonel SYKES'S collection; but they are frequently destitute of such ornaments, and the general style of the writing is of a purer and therefore more ancient type than that of *Sainhadri*.

In my search for some of the catch-words which had proved of such avail in explaining the purport of the inscriptions at *Bhilsa* and *Sainhadri*, I could neither meet with the *dánam* of the former, nor the *dayadhamma* of the latter,—but in their stead I remarked a very common if not constant termination in a word of two syllables $\overline{\text{J}}\overline{\text{I}}$ *lonam*, or $\overline{\text{J}}\overline{\text{I}}$ *lenam* preceded in most instances by the genitival affix sa ; and in the only case, as of exception, by an equally regular genitive $\overline{\text{S}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{O}}$ *sírino*, from the noun *sírí* (Sanskrit root सिरी gen. सौरिनः): a worshipper of the sun. It was not until after many futile attempts with the pandit to find a better, that we were led to the supposition that the words *lonam* or *lenam*, must be the Páli equivalent for the Sanskrit participial noun लूनं *lúnám*, ‘cut or excavated;’ in this the vowel is changed from *u* to *o*, and the *n* from the dental to the Prákrit cerebral:—but in sound it must be confessed that there is little difference; while in sense, the term satisfies precisely the circumstances of the *Udayagiri* caves, which are generally small holes cut with the chisel from the solid rock—a stone of loose consistency easily worked with the rudest tools.

The catch-word once attained, the reading of this new string of inscriptions was an easy matter.

The first then, which occurs in a cave now called the “snake cave” at *Udayagiri* (hill of the rising sun) reads thus:

No. 1. *Chúlakamasa Koṭhájayácha.*

“The impregnable or unequalled chamber of **CHULAKARMA.**”

Koṭha is precisely the कोष्ठ *koshtha* ‘an apartment.’ The conjunction *cha* shews that the sense is incomplete, but the continuation on the sides of the same door (No. 2) is in bad preservation; viz.

No. 2. *Kamase... rikhi nayache pasáde.*

“and the appropriate temple (or palace) of *Karma*... (*rikhi*?)”
only changing *pasádaḥ* ‘favor’ into *pasádaḥ* (S. प्रासादः) palace.

No. 3, on the cave now called that of the tiger, reads as follows:

Ugara uvedasa sasuvino lonam.

“excavated by (of) **UGRA AVEDA** (the antivedist) (?) the *sasuvini*?”

No. 4, on an adjoining cave is equally unintelligible.

Mápámadáṭi bákúya yanákiyasa lonam.

“The excavation of **YANA'KIYA** for.....”

prevents our getting completely at their meaning. The language is of course no longer Pāli but Sanskrit.

No. 1. त्र्योशधिकारसौराज्यादाचन्द्रार्क
 गुह्य गर्भस्य देवजमुनेः प्रभोस्य
 रस्य विरजा (चेत्ते) ॥ इज्या गर्भसमु
 झणानन्त तस्य खणाभिषक् भ्रमदा
 योरण घान्यषस सम्वत्सरन्मुनि ॥

“ Under the fortunate government of an equitable prince this cavern (was excavated)—to endure as long as the sun and moon—for the heaven-born munis —(or holy ascetics), in the *viraja khetra* (or holy precincts) of the lord of gods (Jagannath), as a cave of sacrifice (*ijya garbha*) In the *samvat* year nine—(*muni*).”

It is a curious fact that all the inscriptions in this comparatively modern character found on the eastern side of India bear *samvat* dates, either in an era unknown, or in the mere reign of the existing sovereign ; so that little advantage can be taken of them in fixing the epoch of what they commemorate. The word *muni* here attached to *samvatsare* is used numerically for ‘ nine,’ that being the number of the sages. The name of the king under whose just rule the elephant cave was formed into a sacrifice cave connected with the worship of *Prabhaswara*, or JAGANNATH, does not clearly appear.

The fragments (figs. 2 to 11) carelessly cut on various parts of the caves are for the most part imperfectly legible.—They are in all probability merely the names of visitors as at *Allahabad*, *Gaya*, &c. The word *हेतवे hotta*, ‘ a burnt-offering,’ occurs in Nos. 3 and 6. No. 8 contains the name *KUVERA’GNI*, and No. 10 the title *Uttamakula vansa*, ‘ descendant of an illustrious family.’—It is unnecessary to dwell upon the reading of the rest, in which many letters and detached syllables might be easily transcribed, because they carry with them no trait of interest further than the fact, that the same transitions of the written character visible elsewhere are equally developed in the remains of these *Kalinga* monuments.

We now arrive at the more elaborate and curious document from the same neighbourhood which was the subject of Mr. STIRLING’S remarks alluded to in a preceding page. I cannot begin better than by inserting in his own words Mr. KITTOE’S

Note on the Khandgiri Inscriptions.

“ At your request I visited the caves of *Khandgiri* in March last, for the purpose of examining the inscription mentioned by Mr. STIRLING

in his statistics of *Orissa*, of which a plate is given in the 15th volume, of the *Researches**.

* As few of my readers have an opportunity of seeing the *Researches*, I extract the following description of these caves and of the main inscription from Mr. STIRLING'S Report on *Orissa*, in the 15th volume.—ED.

‘ About five miles west of *Bhobanésar*, near the village of *Jaymara*, in the *Char Sudhi Khandaiti* of *Khurda*, and still within the limits of the *Khetr*, a group of small hills occur, four in number, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet in height, which present many objects of interest and curiosity. These hills called severally the *Udaya Giri*, *Dewal Giri*, *Nil Giri*, and *Khand Giri*, (by which latter name the spot is now generally designated,) are composed of a silicious sandstone of various color and texture, and are all curiously perforated with small caves, disposed in two or three irregular stories. Each of the caves is large enough to contain from one to two human beings in a sitting posture. Some of them appear to be natural cavities, slightly improved by the hand of man; others have obviously been excavated altogether artificially; and the whole are grotesquely carved and embellished. In one part, a protecting mass of rock has been cut into the form of a tiger's head, with the jaws widely distended, through which a passage lies into a small hole at the back secured by a wooden door, the residence of a pious ascetic of the *Vyshnavite* sect. The ridiculous legend which the natives relate to explain the origin of these isolated hills, is, that they formerly constituted a part of the *Himalaya*, at which time they were inhabited by numerous *Rishis*, who dug the caves now found in them. They were taken up bodily, ascetics and all, by MAHA'BIR HANUMA'N, with other masses of rock, to build the bridge of *Rama*, but, by some accident, were allowed to drop in their passage through the air, when they alighted in their present position. I am almost tempted to add, as a curious coincidence, that they are the only real sandstone hills found in this part of the country; but the geology of the district has not been sufficiently explored, to warrant my advancing such an assertion positively. The summit of the highest rock, is crowned by a neat stone temple of modern construction, sacred to the worship of *Parasnath*: all around, and in the neighbourhood of which, are strewed a quantity of images of the *nirvánas*, or naked figures worshipped by the *Jain* sect, executed chiefly in the grey chlorite slate rock. At the back of these temples, a highly remarkable terrace is shewn, called the *Deo Sabhá*, or assembly of the gods, which is covered with numberless antique-looking stone pillars or temples in miniature, some standing, others lying on the ground, about two or three feet long, having, on each of the four sides, a figure of the naked *Jain* deity rudely sculptured. The place is still frequented by the *Jain* of *Parwár* merchants or *Cuttack*, who assemble here in numbers, once every year, to hold a festival of their religion. A short way up the *Udaya Giri* hill, the hour or palace of the famous *Rája LALUT INDRA KESARI*, is pointed out as the chief curiosity of the place. It consists of a sort of open court formed a perpendicular face of sandstone rock, about forty feet in height, with shoulders of the same projecting on either side. Rows of small chambers have been excavated in each face, arranged in two stories and divided by a projecting terrace. Both the exterior surface and the inner walls of the chambers are decorated with cornices, pilasters, figures, and various devi-

I discovered at once the incorrectness of the facsimile, moreover that it was only of part of a very extensive inscription.

I found a great many smaller inscriptions in the different caves all of which I transcribed. (See the preceding notice.)

Having no means of erecting a scaffolding, added to the limited leave granted me, I was obliged to defer the agreeable task of copying the great inscription till a future opportunity, which unfortunate circumstances prevented till the latter end of November, when having previously sent on people to make preparations I followed by dawn. After a whole day's hard work, I transcribed the most part of the great inscription and re-compared all the minor ones; I worked for upwards of an hour by torch-light and returned to cantonments, having travelled 38 miles out and home again.

ces very rudely sculptured, and the whole exhibits a faint and humble resemblance, in miniature, to the celebrated cavern temples in the south-west of India. The rude and miserable apartments of the *palace*, are now occupied by byragis and mendicants of different sects, who state that the place had its origin in the time of BUDDHA, and that it was last inhabited by the rání of the famous rája LALAT INDRA KESARI, a favourite of the Buddhist religion. Many odd fables are related of the scrapes into which she was led by her heretical notions, and of the way in which her conversion to the orthodox system of worship was at last effected.

Farther up the same hill, on the overhanging brow of a large cavern, one meets with an ancient inscription cut out of the sandstone rock, in the very identical character which occurs on the pillars at Delhi, and which as yet has been only very partially decyphered. Having been enabled to obtain an exact facsimile of this interesting monument by the assistance of Colonel MACKENZIE, whom I conducted to the spot in 1820, I shall annex the same to the Appendix of this paper. There are I think two eminently remarkable circumstances connected with the character used in the above inscription. The first is the close resemblance of some of the letters to those of the Greek alphabet, and the second the occurrence of it on sundry ancient monuments situated in widely distant quarters of India. In support of the first assertion, I need only point the attention of the reader to those of the characters which are exactly similar to the Greek σ , λ , χ , δ , ϵ , and a something closely resembling the figure of the digamma. With regard to the second, any reader who will take the trouble of comparing the *Khand Giri* inscription with that on FEROSHAN's lát at Delhi, on the column at Allahabad, on the lát at *Bhim Sen*, in *Sarun*, a part of the elephants and a part of the *Ellora* inscriptions, will find that the characters are identically the same. A portion of the *Ellora* and *Salsette* inscription written in the above character, has been decyphered by the learning and ingenuity of Major WELFORD, aided by the discovery of a key to the unravelling of ancient inscriptions in the possession of a learned brahmin, vide the eleventh article of Vol. V. Asiatic Researches; and it is to be regretted that the same has not been further applied to decyphering the *Delhi* and other

I prepared a copy of my work (on a large scale) in pale ink, and again returned to *Khandgiri* on the 18th of December; I compared this copy with the original, correcting all errors with ink of a darker shade, and completed such parts as had remained unfinished on the former trip. This I accomplished in eight hours and returned the same day viâ *Bobaneswar* to *Cuttack*.

I had again occasion to observe the great advantage of performing such work towards sunrise, and more particularly about sunset. The degree of light at that time being most favorable, faint letters which in the glare of noonday are not perceptible become clearly so then: I would observe however that I always mark such letters with dotted lines, as are doubtful.

The nature of the stone at *Khandgiri*, *Dhaulti**, and of the *Bobaneswar* temples is such as to render it quite impossible to take off facsimiles, as will be seen by the specimens of the different rocks†.

characters. The solution attempted by the Père TRIEFFENTHALER, does not seem to me to meet any attention‡. The natives of the district can give no explanation whatever on the subject. The brahmins refer the inscription with shuddering and disgust, to the *Budh ka Amel*, or time when the Buddhist doctrines prevailed, and are reluctant even to speak on the subject. I have in vain also applied to the Jains of the district for an explanation. I cannot however divest myself of the notion that the character has some connection with the ancient Prâkrit, and considering that it occurs in a spot for many ages consecrated to the worship of Parasnath, which the brahmins are pleased to confound with the Buddhist religion, and that the figure and characteristic mark which appears in company with it, thus ५ does in some sort seem to identify it with the former worship; I am persuaded that a full explanation is to be looked for only from some of the learned of the Jain sect."

* We have not yet been able to insert the facsimiles of the *Dhaulti*.

† The rock is a coarse sandstone grit, or shingle conglomerate.—ED.

‡ He says, speaking of FEROS SHAH'S pillar: Apres avoir beaucoup et long temps cherché j'ai trouvé la signification de ces caracteres. Ce sont eu partie des signes numeriques, en partie des figures d'instrumens de guerre dont les Indiens se servaient autrefois. Δ est le caractère du nombre huit: 8 celui du nombre quatre, O designe le sceptre de Rama jointa Δ un globe; N désigne la figure d'une charruc que ctait autrefois un instrument de guerre chez les Indiens. X a de la ressemblance avec la lettre qui signifie C ou K: il est plus probable cependant que cette figure de dix Roman ou Ch Grec désigne une fleur à quatre feuilles dont les gentils employent quelque fois le figure pour servir à l'interpunctuation des mots; Δ triangle qui est la déesse, Bavani; € est la caractere du nombre 6. E enfin désigne une espece de pallebarde avec laquelle Ram couchee sur le carreau un geant à mille bras. Des que ces caractères out de la ressemblance avec les caractères Grecs, quelques Européens ont cru que cet obelisque avait été elevé par Alexander le graud: mais c'est une erreur, &c.

The hillocks of *Khandgiri* and *Udayagiri* form part of a belt of sandstone rock, which, skirting the base of the granite hills of *Orissa*, extends from *Autgur* and *Dekkunál* (in a southerly direction) past *Kírdi* and towards the *Chilka* lake, occasionally protruding through the beds of laterite.

Khandgiri is four miles northwest of *Bobaneswar*, and nineteen southwest of *Cuttack*.

The two rocks are separated by a narrow glen about 100 yards in width.

Khandgiri has but few caves on the summit. There is a Jain temple of modern construction, it having been built during the *Maharatta* rule. There are traces of former buildings ; I am inclined therefore to think that the present temple occupies the site of a *Chaitya*.

There is a tank hewn out of the rock on the eastern face of the hill which is held sacred by the Hindus as well as the Jains. This probably may be the "*Sitala taḍága*" alluded to in the inscription.

Udayagiri is entirely perforated with small caves on its southern brow. The natives have a tradition that there were formerly 752, exclusive of those now called *Lálhat Indra Keshari's* *nour*. A great many still remain perfect ; none are of any size ; they are mostly small chambers about 6 feet by 4, and from 4 to 6 feet high, with verandahs in front and small doorways to them hewn out of the solid rock. Several are cut out of detached blocks in fantastic shapes, such as the snake cave, and tiger cave, &c. There is much rude sculpture in some of the caves representing battles, processions, the worship of the holy tree, &c. : there are many elephants represented in basso relievo also detached of yore.

A great number of caves were destroyed for materials to build the Jain temple, and it appears that the rest have suffered during the wars between the Brahmans and Buddhists in remote ages, since which the spot has been occupied by ascetics of the brahminical faith.

Stone has been quarried here to build the temples of *Bobaneswar* when probably many caves were destroyed, as well as the buildings of which so many vestiges are to be found in the jangal around.

It will ever be a matter of regret that I was unable from want of leisure to make drawings of the sculpture and plans of this extraordinary place.

Before I conclude this note I must remark on the ingenious method which had been adopted to drain the chambers, which from the porous nature of the stone would otherwise have dripped in wet weather : small grooves are cut along the ceilings all verging to one point

at the lower corner, where a perforation is made to conduct the water without.

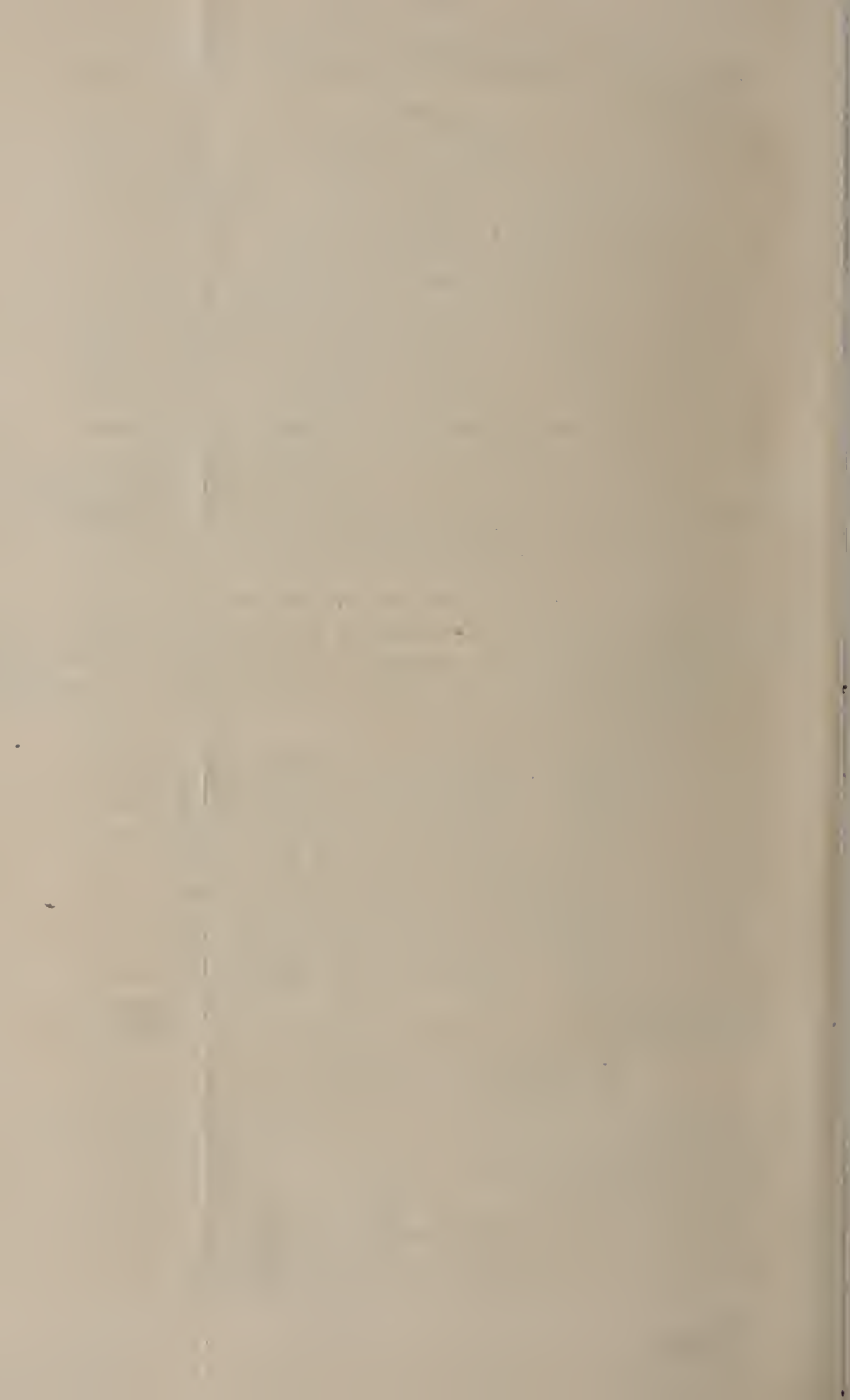
The great inscription is cut over the entrance of the largest cave called *Hathí Gúmpha*, and occupies a space of 75 square feet."

Nothing short of an impression (and from the nature of the rock an impression was impossible) could surpass in fidelity Mr. KITTOK'S twice-compared facsimile, which is given on a reduced scale in plate LVIII. The only liberty taken by the transcriber is in arranging the lines parallel and even, whereas on the stone they run very irregularly as represented in STIRLING'S lithograph. Want of space also has made me crowd the letters in the lithograph too much, to the abridgment of the spaces which in the original most usefully mark the conclusion of each compound word.

One prominent distinction in the alphabetical character would lead to the supposition of its posteriority to that of the *láts*, but that the same is observable at *Girnár*: I allude to the adoption of a separate symbol for the letter *r* (|) instead of confounding it with *l* (J). Hence also it should be later than the *Gaya* inscription, which spells *Dasaratha* with an *l*,—(*dasalahena*). There are a few minor changes in the shape of the *v*, *t*, *p* and *g*; and in the mode of applying the vowel marks centrally on the letters, as in the *m* of *namo*; the letter *gh* is also used: but in other respects the alphabet accords entirely with its prototype, and is decidedly anterior to the modifications just observed in the *Sainhadri* cave inscriptions.

The opening words of the inscription command our curiosity from the introduction of a regular invocation, in lieu of the abrupt style of ASOKA'S edicts. *Namo arahantánam namo sava sidhánam!* "salutation (or glory) to the *arhantas*, glory to all the saints; (or those who have attained final emancipation!)" These words evidently betoken a more matured and priestly style of composition. It should also be noted that the termination in *ánam*, which in Sanskrit only belongs to the genitive plural, in Páli serves also for the dative—the Sanskrit would be नमः अर्हते नमः सर्वे सिद्धैः; the orthography of the text, however, differs materially from that of the modern Páli.

The next words, *Airena mahárájena mahámeghaváhanena chetakájate. . chhadhanena pasathasukelukhanena chaṭurantulathaganena*, are almost pure Sanskrit,—एरेण महाराजेन महामेघवाहनेन चैत्यकार्याचतताच्छनेन प्रसन्नशुक्लवर्णेन चतुरान्तरस्थाणुगणेन,—'by AIRA the great king,—borne on his mighty cloud-chariot,—rich in possession of the purest wealth of heart and desire,—of exceeding personal beauty,—having an army of undaunted courage.'



The concluding words of the first line are clear in import though slightly erased. . . *kalingádhipa tirási sikhira avalonam*, . . . “by him (was made) the excavation of the eighty-three rocky peaks of *Kalinga dwipa*.” If objection be taken against reading *dhipa* as *dwipa*, by altering the *rá* to *nú*, we shall have the preferable reading—*Kalingá-dhipatiná-ási sikharávalonam*,—‘by him the king of *Kalinga*, &c. was this rock excavation (made);’—*avalonam* is formed from the word *नुन* before explained.

The second and third lines, owing to the same projecting ledge of stone which has so fortunately sheltered the upper line from the destructive influence of the rain through so many ages, are equally well preserved. In Roman characters they may be thus transcribed:—*Pandarasa vasáni siri-kaḍāra-sariravatá, kídita-kumāra-kídiká, tato lekharúpa-gaṇa-náva-vapāra-vidhi-visāradena sava-vijavadātena navavasari, hotu raja pansúsisvasè, pūna chavavísati vase dānava-dhamena sēsavyovendbhivijayo tatiye Kalinga-rāja-vansu-puri sanyuge, mahārājābhisechanam pāpunāti*. For the sake of further perspicuity the same passage here follows in pure Sanskrit, which requires very slight alteration :

पञ्चदश वर्षाणि त्रीकडार शरीरवता क्रीडिता कुमार क्रीडिका ततो लेख रूप
गण नाव व्यापार विधि विशारदेन सर्वविद्यावदातेन नववर्षाणि भतराज पञ्चा-
शीतिवर्षे पुनश्चतुर्विंशति वर्षे दानवधर्मेण शेषयौवनेनाभि विजयः तृतीयः कलिङ्ग
राजवंशपुरि संयुगे महाराजाभिषेचनं प्रपूणाति ।

“ (By him) possessed of a comely form* at the age of fifteen years,—then joining in youthful sports,—afterwards for nine years engaged in mastering the arts of reading and writing, arithmetic, navigation, commerce, and law;—and resplendent in all knowledge;—(the former *rāja* being then in his eighty-fifth year) thus at the age of twenty-four, full of wisdom and uprightness and on the verge of manhood (lit. the remainder of youth) (through him) does a third victory, in the battle of the city of the *Kalinga* royal family, sanctify the accession (anointment) of the *mahārāja*.” In this the only doubtful points to my mind are whether *Vijoya* should be understood as ‘victory’ or as a proper name, *VIJAYA* the third, (*yo* is written *po* in the text:)—and whether *sēsha yovena* (S. *yauvarena*) should not be *asesha yodhena*, ‘having a numerous army.’ The immediate consequence of his accession is related in the next passage :

Abhisitamato vapadhammavase vatavihatato pura-pāśra nivesam paṭi-sankhārayati.

* *Kaḍāra sarira* signifies ‘tawny body:’—*Srī kaḍāra* again may denote ‘the servant of *SRI*,’ the goddess of beauty.

“ Upon his accession choosing the brahmanical faith (विप्रधर्मवशः ?) he causes to be repaired (संस्कारयति) the city, walls, and houses (that had been) destroyed by a storm (वातविह्वतः)” and further, proceeding sentence by sentence, in the same strain :

Kalinga nagari khidhira sitala tadāga pariyo cha bathupayani sava yāni-pati santhapa(nam)cha kārāyati.

“ For the poor (or ascetics) of Kalinga (खिदिर) a reservoir of cool water and a ghāt (?) also presents of every necessary (वस्तूपयणि) and equipages he makes permanent endowment of,” (संस्थापनं कारयति).

The next sentence is equally capable of explanation with a very few alterations—*panatsirāsīhi satahasehi pakātiyo ranjayati* :—‘ with eighty-three hundred thousand *panas* he gains the affection of his people’ (प्रदत्तः रंजयति.) Then follows,—*datiya cha vāse, ūchitayitā sotekāri pachhima disām, haya gaja nara radha bhula darīn pathāpayati* : ‘ and in a second house (which) the architect has prepared (आचितयितास्त्रकारि) on the western side, (for) horses, elephants, men, carriages, a number of chambers he caused to be established’ (or he transferred them thither) प्रस्थापयति.—*bahula darīn* is altered to *thahula danḍi* in the corrected copy :—the sense is therefore doubtful.

Kansabanāgatāya-dasanāya vātānam saka-nagara-vāsino punavase gandhava-veda-budho dampana-tabhata-vādītā sandasanāhi usava samaja-kārāpanāhi cha kīdāpayati nāgari.

‘ For those coming from *Kansa forest* to see ; the balcony (*vātāyanam*, or *vā tānam* and of them) . . of the inhabitants of *Sākanagara* ; he, inclining to virtue, पुण्यवशः skilled in the science of music, causing to be sounded the *dampana* and the *tabhata* (drums ?) with beautiful and merry dancing girls (*nāgarī*) causes diversions,’ (सदर्शनीभि उत्सव समाज कारिनीभिश्च क्रीडापयति नागरीः)

Tathā vīvuthevase vijādhārūdhivāse a(r)hata pubakalinga puvarājaniva sati.

‘ In like manner turning his mind to law (व्यवस्थावशः) in an establishment of learned men, he (called together ?) the Buddhist priests of eastern *Kalinga* who were settled there under the ancient kings . . . ’

The sense is here interrupted by abrasion of the stone but the words *vata dhama* (व्रतधर्म acts of devotion) bear out the conclusion that at this age the young prince began to study religion and the laws : the rest of the line is unintelligible.

—(a) *bhigārehi taratana sapatena savarathika bhojakepā devam dāpayati.*

This passage has much perplexed the pandit—the word *ratna*, jewel, *savarathika*, all equipages,—and *devam dāpayati*, he gives to god, the concluding verb, are plain, but the meaning is still obscure.

Pachachadānivase Nandarāja tivasota ughāṭitam tannisaraliya vaja panadi nagara pasesa “afterwards (पश्चाच्च दानिवशः) inclining to charity—the hundred houses (?) of NANDA RÁJA (निवास शतं उद्धानितं) destroyed, and himself expelled (नन्निःसार्यः?), all that was in the city of *Vajapanādi* (?)” . . . here we may fill up—‘he converted the plunder to the charitable purposes alluded to;’ and this sense is borne out by the beginning of the following or seventh line.

Anugaha anekani sata sahasani visajati;—‘he munificently distributes in charity many hundred thousands (*panas*)—*pora janapadam satamanchatisam pasāsato vajaragharavedham satam gharini savata kaha dapanna narapa*

Here the sense is too much interrupted to be well made out, and the want of the concluding verb leaves us to guess the object of the repetition of *satam*, a hundred, with *paurajanapadam*, the town territory and *ghara* “house.” At the conclusion of this line we find a few known words: . . . *thamevase manam . . . ta . . . ge . . . giri* “hill.”—

The eighth line is again but partially intelligible:—*ghātāpayitā rājā gabham upapāpayati : dhatinam cha kammupādana panādena pambātasena vāhayati : pammuchitamadhuram apanata mora dadāti.*

“(To) the prince who caused (its) destruction, he ordains the pain of the cavern (imprisons in one of the caves?)—and causes the murderer to labour (*dhatinam* for *ghātinam*) by a generous requital. (*Pambātasena* the pandit would read *parbatāsanam* ‘seated on the hill’) and lavishes bland speeches and obeisance. . . .”

The ninth line opens with a catalogue of further gifts:—*kupam ukha haya gaja (lulapa?) sahāya sesa cha gharavāsūya, anatika-gana nirāsa-sahanancha karāyitun, ba imanānam jatapa (jātiya?) paradādāti :*

“Apes, (कपि) bulls, (उत्ता) horses, elephants, buffaloes (?) and all requisites for the furniture of the house;—to induce the practice of rejecting (मिरास) improper persons, he farther bestowed (or appointed) attendants of the *baiman* caste (brahman?) ब्राह्मणानां जातीश्च परिददाति—the rest of the line is irrecoverable. Henceforward the commencement also is lost, so that it is only in our power to string together such detached sentences as can be gleaned from what remains. Line 9. . . . *mānatirāja pandarāsa mahāvijaya pāsādam kṛrayati*;—“ . . . *rāja* causes to be made the *palace* (or fort) of fifteen victories.”

Line 10. . . *puva rāja nivesātam pīthu-dāga-dambha-nagare nakāsayatta janapade, bhāvanā chā teresa vase satake*:—‘finding no glory in the country which had been the seat of the ancient princes,—a city abounding in envy and hypocrisy,—and reflecting in the year thirteen hundred’—a break follows and leaves us in the dark as to what era (if any) is here alluded to. The Sanskrit of this passage would be :

अपूर्व राज निवेसनं (?) प्रथुरागदम्भनगरे नकाशयित्वा जनपद, भावनसचये
दशवर्षे शनके. after this occurs the expression *amaradehusa pāta*
“falling of heavenly form”—used to denote the death of a person,—
then *bārasa* ‘twelve’ and at the end of the line, *siri pithhājāno*, which
in Sanskrit will be श्रीशिवराजानः (राजा)

. . . *ta jōloralakhila bāranasi hirananivenayati*—apparently ‘he distributes
much gold at Benares (S. *vāranasam hīranyāni visirjati*)—all that follows
is too uncertain until we approach the verb,—*ane kāni dato (deva?) mani*
ratanāni aharāpayati, ‘he gives as charity innumerable and most precious
jewels.’

14th line. . . . *si novasikariti terasamava (sata?) vasesu panchata (paba-
ta?) vijaya chana kumarī pasange, arahate panavasata pi kamani sīdināya*
yāpuravake ‘in the year thirteen hundred married (S. प्रसंगः) with
the daughter of the so-called conqueror of the mountains (a hill *rāja*)’
— . . the rest is obscure but seemingly declaratory of some presents
to priests.—

15. This line presents but a few words of intelligible import—*vihi-
tānancha sata disānam sidiya samīpe subhare—aneke ya janā,*
and the final word *dhanāni*.

16. *Paṭālake chatara cheteghariya gabha thambhe pati (thī) payati,—*
‘he causes to be constructed subterranean chambers, caves con-
taining a *chetiya temple* and pillars’ *agisati katariyam napōda-
chhati—agama rājā savatha rājā saurase(na)rāja . . . ma rājā pasata*
saghate . . . ranāni.

The meaning of this judging from the last word and the constant re-
petition of ‘*rāja*,’ is that he had many encounters with various princes,
including perchance the *rāja* of *Saurasena*, or of *Saurashtra*?

The last line begins well: (omitting *u vi se*)—*kusalo sava pāsanda*
pūjan (iya) (17 letters) *kārakāra putihata lakivāhani bālevāka-
dhagata chana pavata chako rājāsanka lavinaravato mahāvijaye rājā*
khāavela sanda,—“for whom the happy heretics continually pray
. slayer, having a lakh of equipages. the fearless
sovereign of many hills, by the sun (cherished? or some such epithet)
the great conqueror *rāja KHA’RAVELA SANDA* (or the king of the occan-
shore—reading *khāavelasya*, and supposing the two final strokes not
to be letters).”

All who take an interest in Indian antiquities will at once see the
value of the above record—perhaps the most curious that has yet been
disclosed to us,—and will lament the irretrievable obscurity in which
the dilapidation of ages has involved the greater part of its contents.
Much may be objected to in the hasty analysis which, in the midst of
the interruptions at this busy season, I have hurried prematurely into

publication: but there can be little doubt of the main facts,—that the caves were executed by a Buddhist rája of *Kalinga* (named AIRA?) who at the age of 24, after having pursued his studies regularly for nine years, wrested the government from some usurper—distributed largesses bountifully—repaired the buildings—dug tanks, &c. The ambiguity in what follows is partly due to the imperfection of the Páli dialect which expresses the Sanskrit वरः *varah*, ‘led on by, enthralled,’—by the same letters, वरु as the word वर्षे *varshè*, ‘in the year.’—I have interpreted it in the latter sense wherever I found a numerical accompaniment,—and in the former where by it only I could make sense.—Each change of inclination is consistently followed by a description of corresponding conduct, and we have throughout a most natural picture of a prince’s life, wavering between pleasure and learning,—between the brahmanical and Buddhist faith, then doubtless the subject of constant contention. The history embraces his alliance with the daughter of a hill chieftain and perchance even his death, though this is very unlikely. I have no time however to review the contents of the inscription as it deserves, and must content myself with one or two remarks on the identification of the prince.

Tradition, Mr. STIRLING tells us, ascribes the construction of the *nour* or palace on *Udayagiri* to rája LALAT INDRA KESARI, a favourer of the Bauddha religion, who reigned about the year A. D. 617.

The name of AIRA has doubtless much affinity to INDRA, and the epithet *mahámeghaváhana* “borne on the clouds,” metaphorically applied, might support the hypothesis of their being synonymous; but we cannot imagine that the writing is of a period so modern as his reign.

There is, higher up in the same list of *Orissa* kings, the name of INDRA DEVA about 340 A. D.,—but even he is not sufficiently old: and it is evident we have no real account as yet of the early rájas of *Kalinga*.—The very name is lost sight of in the *vansavalís* and *cherit-ras* of *Or-desa* or *Utkala-desa* consulted by STIRLING,—nor am I aware of any direct treatise on the subject. The country is only known by Sanskrit authors from its frequent mention along with *Anga* and *Vanga**. But we have far more particular and frequent allusions to it as an extensive and powerful kingdom in the Buddhist annals of *Ceylon*.

Kalinga, (or as it is called in M. CSOMA’s analysis of the Tibetan authorities†, ‘the country of the king of *Kalinga*,’—in curious accor-

* In a broken inscription-slab just brought to my notice in the museum, by Mr. KITTOE, the *Kesari* rájas are called *Kalingádhipati*.

† *Asiatic Researches*, XX. page 317, Notice of the death of BUDDHA.

dance with the *Kalinga rāja vansa pura* of our inscription,) was one of the twelve places among which the relics of *Buddha* were distributed at his death. The left canine tooth fell to its share, and Mr. TURNOUR informs us from his *Pāli* records that the capital of the province was named *Dantapura*; evidently in consequence of this circumstance. The frequent contentions that arose in after ages, for the possession of this precious deposit, may have been the cause of the decline and ruin of this ancient kingdom, which although still known to the natives as the appellation of the coast or maritime tract from *Cuttack* to the *Chilka* lake, has not now sufficient importance even to be named in 'HAMILTON'S Hindostān:—and is only preserved in the name of a small village, *Culingapatam*, probably once the capital; for the inscription teaches us that it was occasionally changed at the pleasure of the sovereign.

On the other hand I need but refer to page 860 of the present volume to prove what an important position the *Kalinga* monarchs at one time enjoyed in India. Their capital was probably at this early period the principal emporium of commerce. The inscription tells us that the young prince was instructed in *nāva-vapāra* 'ship-commerce.' During the life of SHAKYA, also, we learn from M. CSOMA, the king of *Kalinga* sent the king of *Kosala* a piece of fine linen cloth as a present*. It is from these invaluable disclosures of the Buddhist records alone that we can gather any light upon the subject of the true *Kalinga* dynasty, to whom the present inscription undoubtedly relates. "The ruling sovereign, says Mr. TURNOUR, who received the relic at BUDDHA's death was BRAHMADATTO†. He was succeeded by his son KĀSĪ, who was succeeded by his son SUNANDO. These *rājas* are stated to have been profound Buddhists. From the indiscriminating tone in which the ensuing monarchs are stated to have 'continued to make offerings to the tooth relic of the divine sage,' it is reasonable to infer that subsequently to SUNANDO's reign, Buddhism ceased to be the faith of the rulers of *Kalinga*. At all events GUHASIWO, who was a contemporary of the Ceylonese monarch MAHASE'NO must have reigned towards the close of the third century of our era, is admitted to have been of the brahminical faith."

* CSOMA's analysis of the *Dulva*, Asiatic Researches, XX. 85. "It comes afterwards into the hands of a lewd priestess, who puts it on and appears in public, but from its thin texture appears to be naked." This cloth must therefore have been as fine as the *Dacca* muslins of later days.

† I find the name of *Brahmadatta*, written *Bhamadatusa* on one of the Buddhist coins of the *Ramadatta* series.

Now this picture accords surprisingly with the facts gleaned from the mutilated inscription. In SUNANDO, we may be perhaps allowed to recognize the NANDA rāja whose name twice occurs rather than one of the nine NANDAS of *Magadha*; the hero of the record may have succeeded him, and he, as we have seen, wavered between the rival religions. The name of this young prince from the most obvious interpretation of the opening line would seem to be AIRA, the excavator of the caves and repairer of the palace and religious edifices.

But there is another explanation of the first line, which seems more consistent with the epithet *Mahámeghavāhana* 'the great rider upon the clouds,'—a term hardly applicable to a terrestrial monarch. It will be remarked that the termination *lanam*, 'excavated,' is indefinite as to time; and far different from the conclusion of every subsequent sentence in a causal verb of the present tense, as, *kārayati*, 'he causes to be done.' This first line then may be independent of the rest, and may be similar to the announcements upon the other caves, also terminating in *lanam*; or in other words, it may declare the name of the cave as, 'the cave of *Aira*.' Now STIRLING tells us that INDRA's wife was the last to inhabit these caves, but that "they date from an age much anterior—the time of BUDDHA;"—that is, not of SÁKYA, but of BUDDHA the progenitor of the lunar race according to Pauranic mythology;—in common parlance from 'time out of mind.'

Again WILSON, in his analysis of the MACKENZIE manuscripts (vol. 1, p. cv.) remarking that they present no satisfactory materials for tracing the ancient history of the countries north of the *Krishna*, cites among the few traditions recorded, that "the excavations at *Ellora* are ascribed to ILA the son of BUDDHA the son of the moon." The rājas who ruled subsequently at *Ellora* are said to be YUVANASWA, DANDAKA, INDRADYUMNA, DARUDHYA, and RAMA rāja.—(Of these INDRADYUMNA, it may be remarked, en passant, is the traditionary founder of the temple of *Jagannáth*.)

The ILA above mentioned is properly speaking not the son but the wife of BUDDHA,—in other words ILA' or IRA', the goddess of the earth, or water. From whom was born AILAS or PURUVAVAS, progenitor of the two principal branches of the CHANDRAVANSA who reigned at *Kási* and *Pratishthána*.

The essays of WILFORD contain frequent mention of ILA and ILA', (for this personage is both masculine and feminine,) whom he identifies with JAPHET as *Ilapati* or *Jyapati*; and again with *Ilys* of the Orphean theogony, *Gilshah* of the Persians, and *Ilus* of Homer*. He has, however, omitted what appears to me a much more rational analogy both

* Asiatic Researches, VIII. 255.

philological and mythological; namely, that between the Hindu goddess IRĀ', and the JUNO of the Greeks "Ἥρα" or Hera*. The name is not only identical, but to both, though not precisely in the same manner is applied, in western and eastern fable, the decision of the question which could not otherwise be solved of the comparative pleasure to male and female in the conjugal union. Again, the son of ZEUS and HERA is ARES, "Ἄρης," or MARS; a name for which, KEIGHTLEY asserts, no satisfactory derivation has yet been given. Now this word is almost identical with ऐरस *Airas* or *Ailas*† the direct patronymic of इरा IRĀ' or ILĀ', and the name constantly employed in the *Purānas* to designate PURURĀVAS, the celebrated lover of the heavenly nymph URVĀSĪ, whose tale is told in the *Vishnu* and *Padma Purānas*, and more pathetically in KALIDĀ'S's play of *Vikram-urvasi*, lately translated by Professor WILSON.

PURURĀVAS or AILAS was the first monarch of the seven-fold earth‡, and hence might be as well entitled to be called king of *Kalinga* as of every other country. We may therefore understand in the opening passage of the inscription,—'these mountain caverns were excavated by AILAS, the great king, the cloud-supported, the lord of *Kalinga*,'—no more than an allusion to the same tradition of the origin of these caves as that which prevails at *Ellore*; coupled with the other local tradition, related by STIRLING, that the whole of the rocky hills of *Udaya* and *Khandgiri*, were conveyed thither from the peaks of the *Himālaya*, the headquarters of PURURĀVAS' earthly dominion, so well pictured in the poetic fiction of his cloud-borne chariot.

Stripped of its mythological and poetical dress, we may understand by the passage that the caves were natural chasms worn in the mountains by the action of the winds and the waves; for *irā* signifies 'water, the ocean;' as *airāvata*, or *airāvana*, 'the ocean born,' is the elephant of INDRA the god of the heavens, the atmosphere, whose name is still preserved in the sculptures at *Ellora*§.

* KEIGHTLEY derives *Hpa*, from *hera* the Latin for 'mistress' others deduce it from *aer* the air and *erao* to love, both equally unsatisfactory.

† The daughters of JUNO are by HOMER entitled the *Eileithyia*, in which the *r* is changed to *l*?

‡ "The holy BUDDHA begot by ILĀ' a son (PURURĀVAS) who performed by his own might a hundred *aswamedhas*. He worshipped *Vishnu* on the peaks of *Himālaya* and thence became the monarch of the seven-fold earth." Extract of the *Matsya purāna*, WILSON'S *Hindu drama*, Vol. I. page 191.—English Edition.

§ In looking at MALET'S account in the sixth volume of the *Researches*, I perceive one of the *Ellora* caves is called *Doomar Leyna*. In this name we may satisfactorily recognize the *lena* or *lona* of the *Khandgiri* inscriptions—the word should, I presume, be read *Dharma lunam* धर्मलूनं the excavation of *Dharma*, having a gigantic

Should this interpretation of the first line be admitted, though we shall be disappointed in finding the true mundane origin of these singular monuments, we shall nevertheless have abundant reason to admire the antiquity of the Indian myths, when we thus find in a monument undoubtedly prior by some centuries to the Christian era, the selfsame story which is now repeated by the faqirs who shew visitors over the similar stupendous relics of ancient grandeur on the west of India. In this point of view alone the restoration of the *Khandgiri* inscription, thanks to Mr. KITTOE, must be set down as a grand point gained to confute the arguments of the modernists, as they may be called, who would bring every thing Indian within the space of ten or twelve centuries.—Thus we find Sir C. MALET wavering between the following accounts of *Ellora* derived from opposite sources :—

“The Mahomedan says, ‘the town of *Ellora* was built by rája EEL, who also excavated the temples, and being pleased with them, formed the fortress of *Deogiri* (*Daulatábád*) which is a curious compound of excavation, scarping and building, by which the mountain was converted into a fort resembling as some say the insulated temple in the area of the Indur Subba. EEL rája was contemporary with SHA’H MOMIN ARIF who lived 900 years ago.’

“The Brahman on the other hand says—‘that the excavations of *Ellora* are 7891 years old, formed by EELOO raja, the son of PESHPOOT of *Ellichpore* when 3000 years of the DWA’PAR YUG were accomplished. EELOO raja’s body was afflicted with maggots, and in quest of cure he came to the purifying water named SEWA LYE or as it is commonly called SEWALLA, that had been curtailed by VISHNU to the size of a cow’s hoof. He built a *Kund* for it and bathing therein was purified*.’”

In these conflicting stories we can trace the selfsame tradition of ILLA extracted by WILSON from the MACKENZIE records.

It would be well worth while to re-examine the particular manuscript (the number of which is not, however, mentioned), to ascertain what further is said of him, and whether it be possible to consider him in the light of a real monarch of *Deogiri*, whose son could by possibility have imitated his father’s propensity for forming impregnable mountain fortresses in the rocks of *Kalinga*: or whether the name is not rather *Aila* than *Ila*; which will make the same personage at both places, mythological or real, the originator of the excavations. Should an actual monarch, named after this demigod, have ruled in central India in the fourth century before Christ, his synonyme *Pururavas* would bring him satisfactorily into the conditions required for the Grecian *Porus*!

image of that god in it. Other caves are called *wassa* ‘chamber;’ as *Jun wassa*, *Cumára warra* (*wassa*?), &c. this is the *vasá* of the inscription.

* Asiatic Researches, VI. 365.

From the second line onwards the inscription of course speaks real events, and is well deserving of a minute and critical examination; but neither time nor space will permit me to say more at present on this prolific subject, and I ought indeed in concluding this hurried and imperfect notice, to apologize for offering it to the Society in so immature a shape.

For the sake of reference I here insert the whole inscription in a connected shape.

1. *Namo arahañtantānaṃ na(mo)sava sidhānaṃ Airena mahārājena mahāmeghavāhanena chetakājata (natan) chhadhanaena pasatha sak(e)lakhanaena chaturāṅtala thānaga (nena) kha te va kalangādhapatirāsīkhiravalonam.*

2. *Pañdarasa vasāni sirikadāra sarīravatā kiditā kumāra kidikā toto lekharūpāgau nāva vapā(ra)vīdhi visāradena, sava vijāvādātēna navavasāni hovarajapaaasivasa puna chavavisati vase dāna vadhamena sesu yochēñbhivijayo tatiye*

3. *Kalinga rāja vanśa puri sayuge mahārājā bhisechanaṃ papunāti, abhisitamate va pa dhamma vase vātavihatato purapākāra nivesanaṃ paṭisañkharayati, kaliuganagarī khdhira sītala tadgā pādīyocha bathapayai savyānapati sañ thupayava*

4. *Kārayati; panatīsi(ra)si sataśahasehi pakataya rāujayati, dātīye cha vāse achita yitā sotekāri payimadiṣaṃ hayegajanaradha bahula daṃ dipathā payati; kaṃsa bañ gātaya dāsānyā vātānam sika uagaravāsino punavase*

5. *Goṇḍharavedabudho dapana tabhatā vādita sandusanāhāṃ usava semujāktā panāpicha kidāpayati nāgari; tatho vivuthe vase vijādhārādhivāsa ahata puva kāluga puva rājāna e satu.....vata dhanaṭita sarā.....rite ranikhitechhata.*

6. *Bhigārehitā ratana sāpateya sava rathika bhajakepādevam dapāyanti, pachala chadānivase nandarāja tivasata ughāṭitaṃ tanasariyavaja panāḍinagarapasesa rise.....sabhāsari cha .. pāsocha sudasa tepava kararāna.*

7. *Anugaha onekōni sataśahasāni visajati porājāupadam satamañchatīsam pasāsato vajaragharovedhaṃ satamghorinisa votaka hodapana narapa*

8. *Ghātā payitā rājā gambho upapāṇpayati dhutiaṃ cha kaṃ nupadana puñāṇā pabatasena vāhāntī pamuchitumadhuram aparato navera .. (20) morādādati (5)—(15).*

9. *Kapa nkha hoyā gojo raluve sahāya sesacha gharā vasapa manati katano vīrasa hannācha kārayitūṃ ba imāna norjotapa paradādāti; ran ... (9) hū (31).*

10. *Ra . i nanati rajā raini rasu mahāvijaya pāsāda deroyati thasāyaya sate sarelahi dāsāme chasa .. dāva ... rāra gavāsapa (10) pabayava (17) tiruparnatano ramare tānāā upahi.*

11.pocha pora rājanivesātam pithuḍgāda bhauagalena kāsāyata janāṃ Padebhāvanacha terasavasesatoka .. da(ta)temaradehasapāta barasama va (13) pasathaka he hi vī tisāyato ntiri pithirājāno.

12. *Machulāva cha vipula leyam junetoh i thasāṃ gaṅga sapānayati .. dha cha rājāna i bahaga sāsita pādeva dāpayata naṇḍa rājā nī ta va u gajiasana (16) mokhana paṇḍo pakhosī ā e māga dhu cha ju va va gharī.*

13. .. tajalarala khila harānisi hiraninivāneyati sata vasā sanopa rihāre naṃ a sumasari yachuhathi .. navnaa parīmra aravāsasa yahava pādārājāno .pādārājasa dāvi aneka nadato manorata rāna oharā payati idhasatasa.

14. *Si vevasi kaṅti terasa mara vase supvata vijaya chako kumarī pasante arahate panuo rāsata pikam rāni sīdīnyāyā pnhavokchiru atani chenam devāni sasasanti vjano utto yāraa ladiranājī deta .. dukarari khiti.....*

15. *Sokatasame rosavihitinnu chasuta dīsānninjata a yesa i .. sampapann arahasani sīdīyāsamipe subhāre vasāca samathaghisipa anakegā jañdhī pūlipa vasilaha sapopatha dhura si dhasayani .. nāni.*

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16. *Patalake chutapa cheveru riya gabhathabhe pati pa . yati panatansata ... raja .. riya la machhinen cha choyutha agisati katariyur napáduchhati aguma rájá sara tha rájá saresera ... ma rájá pasato sofi te apa dhu ji da ... lañoni.*

17. *Vi ronovise kusalo suva pásañda pújano (8) chha (3) kárakára (3).. pati patalukiváhani bálerákadhara gata chano ghavata chako rájásanka luvíná ravato maharjaya rájá kháravela sauñara.*

VIII.—*Memorandum regarding specimens from Seoní Chupara, Pl. LVI.*

By D. W. McLEOD, Esq.

The accompanying minerals were collected by me during a tour through the district, wherever I met with projecting rocks or veins; but not being sufficient geologist accurately to identify them all, I have contented myself with attaching numbers to each, corresponding with those on the accompanying sketch map, so that the site of each may be identified.

The greater portion of the district forms a part of the *Sutpara* range up to its junction with the *Vindhya* at the source of the *Nerbudda*, and its character in this part would appear to be a basis of primitive rock (projecting to the southward where it forms cliffs, in many places of several hundred feet in height), overlaid by basalt, and that again very frequently by laterite. The magnesian limestone appears in some parts at the surface in veins of considerable magnitude; and other rocks in various parts may doubtless be found intersecting the basalt; but the three descriptions of rock above noted undoubtedly form the main features of the entire tract.

The southern purgunnahs of the district lying below the cliffs alluded to above, are formed I believe, entirely of the detritus from the primitive ranges, being a silicious clay increasing in richness in proportion to its remoteness from the cliffs and vicinity to the *Máyá Gangá* river; below the upper soils, clays and limes of different characters occur, and veins of laterite and other rocks occasionally make their appearance at the surface, and in one part an apparently very rich vein of black iron ore (mistaken by the natives for antimony, and called by them *Sárma*), of which a specimen will be found amongst the accompanying.

The principal character of the district above the Gláts is that of table land, intersected by numerous ranges of hills, and abrupt ascents and descents. The abundance of moisture in the more eastern portion is perhaps its most remarkable feature, and this characteristic appears to become more fully developed in proportion as the elevation increases until we reach the highest point of all *Amarkantak*, in the vicinity of which the *Laá*, *Mahánadí*, and *Nerbuddá*, flowing north, west, and

south-east all take their rise. While traversing this tract in May of last year, I found wherever there was any declivity so that moisture could lodge, green grass of two or three feet in height; and cattle sent thither from the breeding purgunnahs hundreds of miles distant in the month of March, return in June in the finest condition. The tract in question is at present almost unpeopled; but it appears to possess the finest capabilities were they developed by the application of capital and industry. The silicious clay, and iron clay soils, which constitute the greater part of it are admirably calculated for irrigation, (the former in particular,) yielding both rain and spring crops; and trees thrive in them with a vigour which can scarcely be surpassed. The basaltic soil also yields very fine Rubbee crops for several successive crops: but owing to the avidity with which it absorbs moisture, irrigation has not been applied to it. The appearance of the country is highly interesting; and well worthy, I conceive, of greater attention than capitalists have hitherto paid it.

The purgunnahs below the Ghât, however, are at present by far the most highly cultivated, tanks having been formed in every village for irrigation, and the population being dense and prosperous. This is attributable no doubt originally to the predatory habits of the *Gonds* inhabiting the higher tracts, who in former times effectually prevented the progress of civilization and industry, and latterly other causes may likewise have been in operation, tending to the same result. At present the principal products of those portions inhabited by *Gonds* are tussur, lac, wax, honey, catechu, dammer and other produce of the sâl, teak, and other forests which abound; though in parts here and there the cultivation carried on by them is by no means inconsiderable.

[The minerals are deposited in the museum, numbered to refer to the accompanying plate.—ED.]

IX.—*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society.*

Anniversary Meeting, Wednesday Evening the 3rd January, 1838.

H. T. PRINSEP, Esq. Vice-President, in the chair.

J. H. BATTEN, Esq. C. S. Baboo CONOY LALL TAGORE and CHARLES ELLIOT BARWELL, Esq. were elected members.

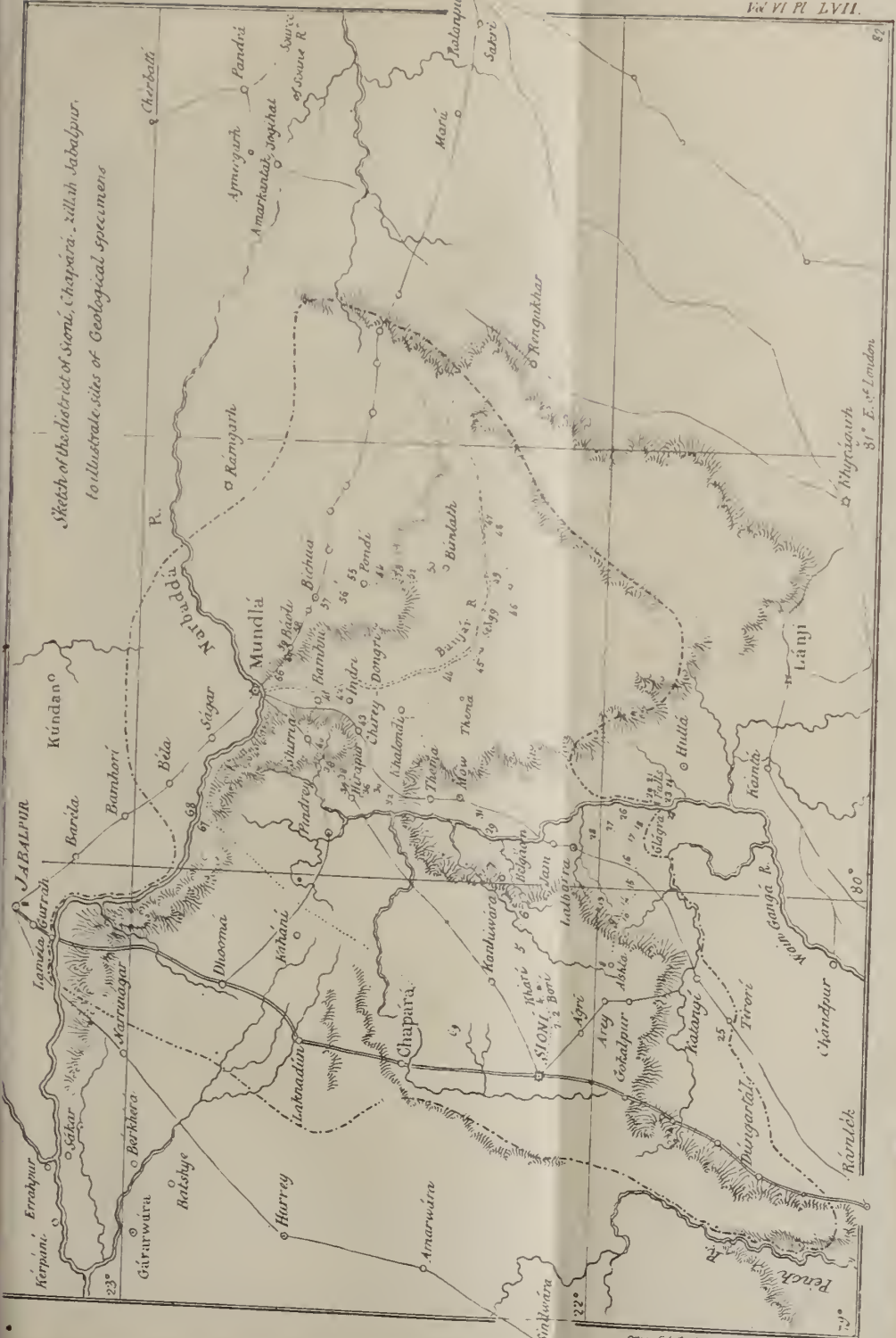
Major W. H. SLEEMAN, was proposed by the Secretary, and seconded by Mr. D. McLEOD.

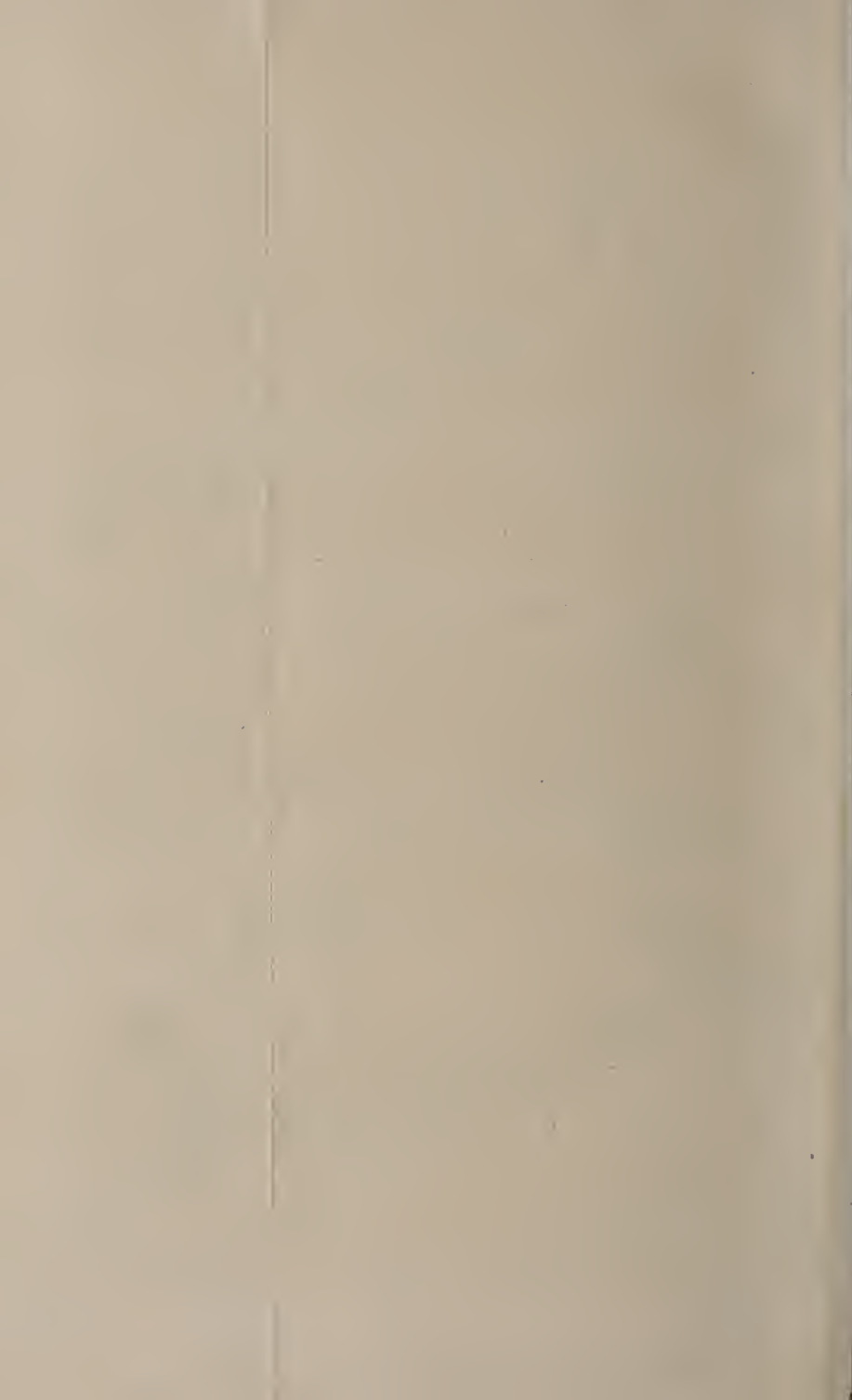
J. W. GRANT, Esq. proposed by Dr. McCLELLAND, seconded by the Secretary.

Mr. G. A. PRINSEP, proposed by Mr. CRACROFT, seconded by Captain FORBES.

Assistant Surgeon J. ARNOTT, M. D. proposed by J. HILL, Esq. seconded by the Secretary.

Sketch of the district of Sioni, Chapara, Sillah Jabalpur, to illustrate sites of Geological specimens





Dr. BONSALL, an American physician resident at Manilla, proposed by the Secretary, seconded by Captain FORBES.

SYED KERAMAT ALI, proposed as an associate member by the Secretary, seconded by the chairman.

The Chevalier AMEDEE JAIBERT, President of the Asiatic Society of Paris, proposed as an honorary member by the Secretary:—referred to the Committee of Papers.

The meeting proceeded to select office-hearers for the ensuing year,—first resolving as an arrangement of convenience that the three members of the Museum Committee should be included in the number (nine) constituting the Committee of Papers. The majority of votes returned as *Vice-Presidents for 1838*.—The Lord BISHOP, Sir J. P. GRANT, H. T. PRINSEP, Esq. and Col. D. MACLEOD, Chief Engineer. *Museum Committee* (re-elected) W. CRACROFT, Esq. Dr. McCLELLAND and Dr. G. EVANS, to whom were added to complete the *Committee of Papers*, Captain FORBES, Prof. O'SHAUGHNESSY, Dr. WALLICH, D. HARE, Esq. W. ADAM, Esq. and Dr. D. STEWART.

Correspondence.

Letters from Captain HARKNESS, Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society,—from Professor FRANK of Munich, MM. BURNOUF and JACQUET, were read acknowledging receipt of presentation volumes.

A letter from Messrs. ALLEN and Co. forwarded bills of lading of the bust of Professor WILSON insured at 200 guineas. The bust having safely arrived was placed for the inspection of the meeting at the end of the hall:—

Resolved, that Colonel McLEOD, Captain FORBES and Captain SANDERS, be appointed a special committee to select a place for the erection of the bust and to design an appropriate pedestal.

The bust does great credit to its eminent sculptor CHANTREY. It is a remarkably good likeness of the Professor clothed in all the dignity of classic simplicity and grace: somewhat larger than nature, and intended to be placed above the spectator. On the back is inscribed,—“HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, Secretary of the Asiatic Society, 1811-1832.”

Read the subjoined reply from Captain CAUTLEY to the following letter addressed to himself and Dr. FALCONER in virtue of the resolution of last meeting.

Extract of Secretary's letter to Dr. Hugh Falconer and Capt. P. T. Cautley.

“It is indeed with no ordinary pride that the Asiatic Society has beheld this first public token of approbation bestowed by one of the leading scientific institutions of England upon two of its members for discoveries—not withheld for prior communication where their merit and value were sure to win honors and fame, but at once made known to their associates and published to the scientific world through their transactions.

The honor to yourselves is the more flattering because it is disinterestedly bestowed, and as honorably won by the real merit of your researches in a field of your own discovery, and in a country hitherto supposed barren of fossil remains.

Those who have followed you in other parts of the same field, and in the no less interesting valley of the *Nerbudda* and in the Gulph of *Cambay*, will share the gratification you must feel at this growing attention of scientific men at home to the geology of India; and the Society as a body feels that it cannot but derive benefit as well as lustre from every tribute of approbation won by the individual exertions of its members, whose activity and cooperation constitute at once its reputation and its existence.

I have been instructed by the President and members to thank the Geological Society for their consideration in allowing them thus to see the medals and to be the channel of conveying them onwards to *Seharanpur*.

[Additional to Dr. FALCONER.]

In doing so I shall not fail to make known the zealous continuation of your joint researches, crowned as they were the last year by the discovery of a gigan-

tic fossil ape, the nearest approach to fossil man that has yet rewarded the labour of geologists. I shall also allude to the Scientific Mission upon which you are at present engaged, and lead them to participate in our expectation of splendid and valuable results to science in all the branches which your extended knowledge embraces."

Reply to the Sec. As. Soc. dated Camp Doab Canal, 21st Nov. 1837.

SIR,

I have the pleasure of acknowledging your letter of the 10th instant, with the Wollaston medal awarded by the London Geological Society to my colleague HUGH FALCONER and myself.

Although the honor conferred upon us by the late Council of the Geological Society of London (distinguished as that Council was, and doubly distinguished in the name of its President) has been and is the source of extreme gratification, I would not lose this opportunity of expressing the acknowledgments which I consider due to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, not only for its having been in my case the animater of my humble career in the paths of science, but also from its having done us the honor of admitting our papers into its Transactions, and thereby of providing the Geological Society with data, by which it has been guided in its present award.

(Signed) P. T. CAUTLEY, Capt. Bengal Artillery.
Library.

The following books were presented:—

Voyage dans l'Inde par VICTOR JACQUEMONT, Parts 1 to 13—*presented by the Government of France*—(forwarded by MESSRS. JOUY ET FILS of Paris.)

Translations of the Linnean Society, Vol. XVII. Part IV. and a list of its members—*by the Society.*

The fourth and fifth Reports of the British Association for the advancement of Science—*by the Association.*

Modern India, by Dr. H. H. SPRY—*by the Author.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 7—*by the Society.*

Earl STANHOPE'S address to the Medico-Botanical Society—*by the Society.*

Proceedings of the Royal Society, Nos. 18 to 29—*by the Society.*

Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy for the year 1836-7—*by the Academy.*

Proceedings of the Committee of Agriculture and Commerce, &c. of the Royal Asiatic Society—*by the Society.*

A letter to the Right Honorable Sir HENRY HARDINGE, K. C. B. M. P. on the effects of solitary confinement on the health of soldiers in warm climates, by JOHN GRANT MALCOLMSON, F. R. S. and M. G. S. Surgeon E. I. C. Service, late Secretary Madras Medical Board—*by the Author.*

Ancient and Modern Alphabets of the Popular Hindu Languages of the Southern peninsula of India, by Captain H. HARKNESS, M. R. A. S.—*by the Author.*

VON HAMMER'S history of the Ottoman empire, Vol. 18—*by the Author.*

Jahrbucher der Literatur, Vols. 73, 74, 75, and 77, edited by the Baron HAMMER PURGSTALL—*by the Author.*

Four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, Anglo-Hindustani—romanized, by Mr. C. E. TREVELYAN.

Meteorological Register for November 1837—*by the Surveyor General.*

From the Booksellers:

Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia—Literary and Scientific men, vol. 2.

The Secretary laid before the Meeting, a copy of the *Khazánat ul Ilm* at length completed, also the first proof of the *Sharaya ul Islám* recently undertaken in conjunction with Newab TAHA'WAR JUNG. Also the catalogue of Sanskrit, Prákrit, and Hindi works, in the Society's Library; inclusive of those received from the College of Fort William.

Resolved, that copies of this and of the Persian catalogue, should be distributed to the learned Societies and to such oriental scholars as are honorary members, in order that the contents of the Library may be generally known; and that copies may be made under the superintendence of the Society's pandit or manlavi of any manuscripts for parties who may be desirous of obtaining them, at the customary rates per 1,000 sloec for Sanskrit, and per *júz* for Persian, subject to audit by the Committee of Papers.

Resolved, on the motion of the Secretary, that two copies of the oriental works lately completed by the Asiatic Society be presented to his Royal Highness, Prince HENRY of Orange, for the Universities of Utrecht and Leyden respectively.

The Secretary then read the Annual Report of the Society's progress for the year 1837.

"The accession of Members to the Society during the year 1837, had been larger than in any preceding year since the foundation of the institution, viz.

Ordinary Members (including Mr. TURNOUR's name transferred), .. 40

Honorary Members, .. 7 viz.

The Right Honorable C. W. W. WYNN, SIR ALEX. JOHNSTON, SIR G. STAUNTON, the Bishop of Isauropolis, M. P. A. LAIR, President Caen Society, the Baron SCHILLING of Cronstadt and Nawab ABDUL JABAR KHAN, Bahadur.

The loss of Members by death and departure to Europe had been as follows :

By departure to Europe, Col. COLVIN, Dr. MILL, Col. HEZETA, Dr. CANTOR, Dr. SWINEY, Dr. LANGSTAFF, Mr. G. A. BUSHBY, Rev. Mr. BATEMAN ; and on the eve of departure Sir C. T. MITCALFE, Bart., the Honorable Mr. MACAULAY, Sir C. D'OYLY, Bart., C. E. TREVELYAN, Esq. the Honorable W. L. MELVILLE, and H. WALTERS, Esq.

By decease in India, the Honorable Sir BENJAMIN MALKIN, V. P. the Rev. Dr. MARSHMAN, and among members retired to Europe the illustrious HENRY COLEBROOKE, Esq., Mons. KLAPROTH, Sir W. WILKINS and Dr. ROBT. TYTLER. To the memory of the first of these distinguished men a tribute had been placed on the Society's proceedings, and the pages of the Asiatic Journals of London had embodied biographical notices in detail of Drs. WILKINS and TYTLER, justly appreciating the services which in their separate lines of study they had rendered to Sanskrit and Arabic literature.

Sir BENJAMIN MALKIN, had been but a short time a resident member, but he had entered most warmly and efficiently into the interests of the Society, choosing for himself as President of the Statistical Committee a most important and hitherto unexplored field of investigation.

Dr. MARSHMAN was the companion and fellow-labourer of the late Dr. CAREY. Like the latter he felt the immense advantage to be obtained in his peculiar mission, by mastering the learned languages of those whose minds and hearts he would address. While his colleague therefore devoted his attention to Sanskrit and Bengalee, he applied himself with equal diligence to the study of the Chinese language, so that he was soon enabled to complete and to publish at Serampore, with type of his own fabrication, a translation of the whole Bible in the Chinese language. The following account of his habits of industry is extracted from a notice in the *Friend of India* for 14th Dec. 1837.

"His constitution appeared to be constructed of iron. He exposed himself to all the severities of an Indian climate, with perfect impunity. He enjoyed, till within the last year of his life, such uninterrupted health, as falls to the lot of few in India. During thirty-seven years he had not taken medicine to the value of ten rupees. The strength of his body seemed to be admirably adapted, with the structure of his mind, to fit him for the long career of usefulness he was permitted to run. He was peculiarly remarkable for ceaseless industry. He usually rose at four, and despatched half the business of the day before breakfast. When extraordinary exertions appeared necessary, he seemed to have a perfect command over sleep, and has been known for days together, to take less than half his usual quantity of rest. His memory was great beyond that of most men. He recalled facts, with all their minute associations, with the utmost facility. This faculty he enjoyed to the last day of his existence. During the last month of his life, when unable even to turn on his couch without assistance, he dictated to his daughter Mrs. VOIGT, his recollections of the early establishment of the Missiou at Serampore, with a clearness and minuteness perfectly astonishing. The vast stores of knowledge which he had laid up in early life, and to which he was making constant addition, rendered his personal intercourse in society a great enjoyment."

The following was the abstract of receipts and expenditure during the past year on the general account, taken from the Treasurer's books.

PAYMENTS.			RECEIPTS.		
	Rs.	As. P.		Rs.	As. P.
To Secretary's office establishment,	790	5 9	By balance 31st Dec. 1836,	220	3 8
To House establishment,	1714	6 0	By collections of quarterly contributions and admission fees,	6994	8 3
To Oriental Library ditto,	1014	0 0	By museum grant from Government from Aug. to Nov. at 200,	800	0 0
To Curator's salary up to the 18th August,	1290	0 0	By establishment for care of Oriental manuscripts,	936	0 0
To ditto contingent,	614	10 8	By Interest on Govt. securities,	742	3 4
To Printing 1st pt. 19th vol. To Stitching ditto,	1506	10 8	By Dividend from Mackintosh and Co.	332	13 9
To Printing authors' extra copies,	139	14 0	By Sale of Govt. 4 per cent. paper,	2109	6 11
To Lithographic plates by Tassin,	348	8 0	By Sale of part 1, vol. 19,	8	0 0
To Kásiuáth for engravings, To Members' copies of Journal, 1100, with extras }	32	0 0	By received in deposit from the French government towards procuring a copy of the Vedas,	625	0 0
To Contingent charges, including ratan matting for ground floor,	973	9 1			
To transfer to Oriental publication account for Paris sales credited in London,	469	8 0			
To Balance in the Bank of Bengal,	2526	11 9			
	Rs.	12818 3 11		Rs.	12818 3 11

To the cash balance were to be added one quarterly contribution, and half a year's interest, together about 2000 rupees : but on the other hand there were bills due for printing and for the journal, and credits to be met for the Spiti expedition and for the Statistical Committee to an equal amount.

Adverting to other accounts kept distinct from the general funds, the Report noticed, first, the subscription raised for the improvement of the museum, amounting to rupees 1429, the whole of which sum had been expended in the construction of various cabinets, and glass cases for birds, animals, insects, shells and fossils, with which the lower rooms were now provided, to the full extent of their accommodation.

Second, the subscription for Dr. MILL's portrait, rupees 1886 ; of which rupees 1838 4 9 = £180 had been remitted to the London Agents to be held at Dr. MILL's disposal for that object.

In the department of *Oriental Publications* the Secretary's books presented the following statement :

PAYMENTS.			RECEIPTS.		
	Rs.	As. P.		Rs.	As. P.
To various bills of the Baptist Mission Press,	2204	9 11	By cash balance of last year,	2174	8 7
To pandit's wages for correction,	24	0 0	By collected from subsrs.	982	10 4
To freight and packing,	53	13 0	By general sales,	546	10 8
To refund to the Editor, of the Inaya,	20	0 0	By works sold to the Education Committee,	334	0 0
To binding, stationery, &c.	37	4 6	By sales at Benares,	93	1 3
To writers and collectors,	120	0 0	By sales at Paris, through the French Asiatic Society, francs 1173, 80 at 2-5 per rupee,	469	8 0
To balance in hand,	2140	11 5			
	4600	6 10		4600	6 10
To bills presented not yet paid: Mahá Bharat, 3rd vol.	3693	13 0	By balance, 1st Jan. 1838,	2142	13 5
Khazanat ul ilm,	809	0 0	By outstanding subscriptions, say,	1200	0 0

All the works which the Society had undertaken to finish were now completed with the exception of the *Mahábhārata* itself advanced to the 300th page of the fourth or last volume. Of the sale of this work it was somewhat premature to form any estimate before the whole series could be offered to purchasers; but judging from the other finished Sanskrit works, the native demand would be very limited; owing to the great poverty of the learned classes, to the absence of a *tika* or commentary which most readers required, and to the adoption of the Devanagari character; the proportion of Bengali readers being far above that of up-country pundits. By the time the edition would be completed there would probably be a balance against the undertaking of near 6000 rupees.

As one mode of diminishing this large debt, the Committee of Papers had recommended the acceptance of an offer of 1000 rupees for the incomplete copies of the *Fatáwa Alemgiri*, of which a maulavi was willing to undertake a reprint, and it was thought still higher terms might be obtained, so numerous were the demands for law books among the educated Muhamedans. Confident hopes were long entertained of a favourable answer to the Society's Memorial to the Honorable Court of Directors in 1835: it was known that the Court had recommended the local Government to subscribe 500 rupees per month expressly to the furtherance of the Society's Oriental publications, but even that degree of patronage had been since understood to be negatived by the Board of Control; leaving the cause in a more hopeless condition than if a decided refusal had at first been given, from the growing liabilities incurred on the expectation of aid.

Meantime the local Government had most liberally seconded the Society's appeal for support to its museum, and had forwarded with its favourable recommendation, a scheme for elevating that museum into a national institution. The greater success was anticipated to this important movement, since Professor WILSON had been placed in charge of the museum and library at home, to which he was well aware how powerful an auxiliary the Indian institution might prove.

At the meeting of October the existing museum was placed under a special Committee, in lieu of appointing a curator. Too short a period had elapsed to render a formal Report necessary from them. Upwards of 200 new specimens of natural history had in that time been added, besides the ordinary setting up of skeletons, &c. Catalogues of several branches of the collections had been prepared by MESSRS. PEARSON, CANTOR, and McCLELLAND.

In the publication of the Researches great delay had taken place from the Orphan Press having been engaged on urgent Government business. The second part of the 20th volume however was in a forward state.

A catalogue of all the Oriental MSS. now in the Library had been printed in the native character for circulation—the Sanskrit portion containing, as an appendix, lists of such books as the Sanskrit Colleges of *Benares* and *Calcutta* possessed exclusively.

In conjunction with the Nawáb TAHA'WAR JANG, the printing of the *Sharaya ul Islám*, a text book of Shia law, had been undertaken.

Out of the society had appeared many interesting acquisitions to the science and literature of the country. A dictionary of the *Manipur* dialect, a grammar of the *Sindhi*, grammars of the *Belochi* and *Baruwi*: besides the Cochinchinese and Burmese dictionaries, the former now nearly through the press: Mr. TURNOUR'S Páli Annals of *Ceylon*: and a full account of the caves of *Adjanta*. Captain BOULEAU'S Survey of *Shekávati* had given a valuable accession to geography and statistics of India; and many reports of scientific expeditions to *Assam*—to the interior of *Maulmein*, to the valley of *Sinde*, &c. had been made public by Government. At the present moment two fresh expeditions had been set on foot, one to *Bootan* under Captain PEMBERTON, the other under Captain BURNES to *Cashmir*; and, under the auspices of the Patron of the Society, inquiries had been circulated on several points of scientific and commercial interest—the tides—lichens—coal, &c.

The current publication of the Society's proceedings in the journal rendered it unnecessary to dwell upon the general subjects that had engaged attention within its walls during the past year. It might be sufficient as an evidence that members were not relaxing in their labors in any branch of research, to state, that al-

though the Journal had nearly doubled its volume, it had still been unable to keep pace with the influx of scientific and literary contributions."

Mr. A. CSOMA in writing thanked the Society for the honor they had intended him, but declined accepting the librarianship, as interfering with the course of studies he had marked out for the short period of his sojourn in *Calcutta*.

Resolved—nem. con. on the motion of the Secretary, supported by the Lord Bishop, that Mr. KITTOE be placed in temporary charge of the library and museum on the consolidated allowance heretofore granted to the curator and librarian, viz. Rs. 200 per month.

In introducing the above proposition allusion was made to the important services rendered by Mr. KITTOE in bringing to light the numerous inscriptions of *Orissa* or, more properly, ancient *Kalinga*. A more thorough survey of its ruins was one object contemplated in his nomination, as the discoverer might again be deputed thither when business at home did not press, and he might bring away drawings and plans of all the caves and Buddhist sculpture. There were many deserted monuments there well worthy of preservation in the Society's museum.

Antiquities.

A letter from Captain SANDERS, Sec. Mil. Bd. acquainted the Society with the resolution of the Right Honorable the Governor General to devote 2,500 rupees to the re-erection of the *Allahabad* pillar on Captain SMITH'S design No. 3, with the restoration of the lion capital as suggested by Lieutenant KITTOE.

Mr. LISTON forwarded from *Gorakhpur*, a sketch and facsimile of a pillar and inscription discovered by him in the eastern division of that district.

The inscription is in the SAMUDRA GUPTA alphabet, and apparently in excellent preservation: an impression has been requested before proceeding to decipher it.

Mr. VIGNE transmitted from *Iskardo*, Little Tibet, a more accurate copy of the inscription he had noticed a year ago.

This inscription has been read by M. CSOMA and will appear in the next journal.

The Rev. J. WILSON, President, Bombay Asiatic Society, at the request of the Secretary sent round by sea the cloth facsimiles (natural size) of the *Girnar* inscriptions of which copies on paper had been previously communicated.

Although not equal in accuracy to printed impressions, it is hoped that these splendid memorials may now be deciphered. Those of the older character relate to *PIYADASI*, but they are very different in tenor from the pillar inscriptions.

Mr. KITTOE gave a revised copy of the *Khundgiri* inscription of *STIRLING*.

A curious war-hat worn by the *Singphos*, also their musical instruments, mat-shoes, Chinese boots, and fan, were presented for the museum, by Colonel H. BURNEY.

Literary.

Read a letter from the Rev. WM. TAYLOR, of *Madras*, on the subject of the MACKENZIE manuscripts, accompanied with an analysis of several of the restored volumes.

These papers are sent under the impression of their being acceptable for publication in the *Researches*, reserving the original texts and translations of such manuscripts as are considered worthy of further notice for a separate volume.

Referred to the Committee of Papers.

Major LAW, Commissioner, Province *Wellesley*, presented an Essay on the birth of *BUDDHA*, according to the Siamese authorities.

MR. C. F. TREVELYAN, presented in the name of Munshí MOHUN LA I, a notice of the *Daudputras*; also, an account of *Kárá Bágh*, and of BAHÁ'-WÁL KHÁ'N.

MR. WATHEN communicated from Ensign POSTANS, some extracts from the *Tohfatal Khwám*, relative to the history of *Sinde*.

Physical.

Replies to the circular regarding Indian lichens were received from Dr. BAIKIE, Dr. GRIFFITH, and Lieut. HARRINGTON, the latter with specimens.

Specimens of the genuine *Jatamási* (spikenard of the ancients) were presented by Dr. A. CAMPBELL, Acting Resident *Nipal*, with drawing and remarks on the subject of Sir WILLIAM JONES' paper.

Fossil shells (on very large ammonite) and volcanic minerals from the *Charí hills, Cutch*, were presented by Ensign POSTANS.

MR. HOMFRAY, presented the carcass of a white guinea fowl.

MR. EWIN (through the Honorable Col. MORISON) forwarded a variety of shark found at the Sandheads.

DR. R. TYTLER, presented a fragment of magnetic ironstone with remarks on the nature of the lines of polarization thereon.

COL. BURNEY presented part of the lower jaw of a fossil hippopotamus (the only one yet found) from a new fossil site in *Ava*.

A drawing of this fragment, which exactly accords with the hippopotamus of the *Siwálik*s having six equal incisors, shall be given hereafter. COL. BURNEY writes:—

“I have the pleasure to send for your inspection a fossil, apparently the lower jaw of a hippopotamus, which was given to me by the prince of *Mekkhara*, and said to have been found, not near the Petroleum Wells, but more to the northward, on a new site on the opposite side of the *Eraveadi*, to the westward of a range of hills called by the Burmese *Tang-gyi*, and in our maps *Dáng-gyi*, and on a plain near the city of *Yau kyakhat*, the ‘*Yo* or *Kakiap*’ of our maps, and the *Jaghire* of the old *Kyi-Wungyih*.

Hearing that there were other fossil remains at this spot, and particularly the *whole body* of the animal from which this lower jaw was taken, I had obtained the permission of the late Government of *Ava* to send down a party of my followers to examine the spot and bring away all the treasures they could find; but the breaking out of the revolution put a stop to my expedition, and although the present king of *Ara* afterwards promised to order some of these fossil remains to be brought up for me, he has been too much engaged, I fear, to recollect his promise. I believe this is the first portion of a hippopotamus found in *Burma*. The inhabitants of *Yau* and the *Burmese* in general reversed this lower jaw, and insisted upon it that it was the upper jaw of a *bhitu* or monster.”

MR. KITTOE presented geological specimens from *Cuttack*, supposed to indicate coal—among them a black chalk fit for crayon drawings.

Extract of a letter from Mr. TAYLOR, H. C. astronomer *Madras*, was read, explaining that he had been engaged in observations of the magnetic intensity along the coast of the peninsula east and west of *Cape Comorin*.

The instruments are now with Mr. CALDECOTT who will continue the series from *Trevandrum* to *Tellicherry* and *Bombay*. The observations will be published in a pamphlet when completed. Mr. TAYLOR'S *Madras Observatory papers* for 1836-37, vol. IV. are now in the press.

The meeting then proceeded to discuss the tender of Mr. EVANS' collection of Natural History, when it was resolved that before coming to any determination the Committee of Papers be requested to examine and value the collection and report on the expediency of recommending its purchase to Government.

Meteorological Register, kept at the Assay Office, Calcutta, for the Month of December, 1837.

Day of the Month.	Observations at 10 A. M.										Observations at 4 P. M.					Register Ther- mometer extremes.		Rain.	Wind.	Weather.									
	Old Stand. Barometer at 32°.	New Stand. Barometer	Reducted	Thermome- ter in air.	Depressi- on of wet-bulb.	Do. by Les- sels Hygro.	Wet-point.	Hair Hy- grometer.	Calculated Humidity.	Ditto by dew-point.	Old Stand. Barometer at 32°.	New Stand. Barometer	Reducted	Thermome- ter in air.	Depressi- on of wet-bulb.	Do. by Les- sels Hygro.	Wet-point.			Hair Hy- grometer.	Calculated Humidity.	Ditto by dew-point.	Heat in sun's rays on roof.	Heat in sun's rays on roof.	On the ground.	At elevation 45 feet.	10 A. M.	4 P. M.	Forenoon.
1	29,950	29,918	73.8	6.0	5.0	62.3	89	76	70	29,867	29,880	80.0	13.4	11.0	61.0	74	42	40	54	61.5					N. W.	S. W.	cir. cum.	cumul.	
2	29,993	29,988	73.7	7.1	3.2	56.2	80	72	59	29,909	29,903	78.6	12.5	11.5	60.3	73	45	40	55	59					N. W.	N. W.	cir.	clear.	
3	30,040	30,008	74.0	5.7	4.8	64.5	90	72	78	29,940	29,986	77.4	11.2	9.4	61.0	80	49	39	59	60					N. W.	N. W.	cir.	clear.	
4	0.14	29,987	71.8	8.7	7.9	57.8	82	55	63	29,896	29,851	77.0	12.6	10.4	56.3	73	44	49	51	60					N. W.	N. W.	do	do	
5	0.22	29,974	72.2	9.7	7.8	59.5	82	52	63	29,927	29,872	75.5	14.2	11.8	56.2	71	35	45	53	57					N. W.	N. W.	do	do	
6	0.50	30,027	69.9	8.8	7.8	54.2	81	55	61	29,917	29,880	74.9	13.9	11.7	53.0	70	36	44	49	55					N. W.	N. W.	do	do	
7	0.07	29,992	71.3	8.8	7.2	59.1	82	55	63	29,870	29,857	75.0	12.4	9.8	56.3	74	42	42	49	54					N. W.	N. W.	do	do	
8	0.04	29,982	70.6	8.1	5.5	55.7	85	60	68	29,903	29,869	75.8	12.0	9.7	56.0	76	45	52	56	56					N. W.	N. W.	cloudy.	clear.	
9	0.04	29,982	71.1	6.4	5.3	58.8	88	66	74	05	911	863	75.8	8.4	8.0	59.3	78	60	56	59					N. W.	N. W.	clear.	clear.	
10	0.43	30,015	71.5	7.4	6.5	59.0	86	61	70	68	942	896	75.5	11.5	9.5	56.0	77	45	54	53					N. W.	N. W.	cir.	do	
11	0.70	0.88	71.5	8.2	7.5	59.0	84	59	66	963	915	77.7	11.0	8.9	61.6	80	50	59	59	60					n. E.	n. W.	do	do	
12	0.48	0.82	70.9	6.1	4.2	60.5	88	67	76	71	944	943	71.7	4.9	3.7	60.3	94	79	87	87					n. E.	N. E.	cldy. drizzle.	cldy. driz.	
13	0.41	0.23	71.6	6.0	5.2	61.5	88	62	74	71	954	908	76.9	10.1	8.3	60.3	81	52	61	59					w. o.	N.	clear.	clear.	
14	0.59	0.82	71.7	8.7	7.7	56.2	82	55	63	61	957	921	76.3	12.6	10.6	53.0	71	42	49	46					n. w.	n. W.	do	do	
15	0.78	0.84	71.5	8.0	7.3	56.1	83	60	63	61	963	927	76.6	12.2	10.3	53.0	71	42	49	46					n. o.	N.	do	do	
16	0.46	0.10	71.9	8.1	6.7	56.1	83	60	65	65	938	867	76.7	12.1	9.2	53.0	75	45	51	45					o. w.	n. W.	cirri. fine.	cldy. haze.	
17	0.89	0.63	72.9	10.3	8.3	58.3	80	50	59	48	30,000	951	77.2	10.0	7.5	53.0	75	51	51	42					N. W.	n. W.	clear.	clear.	
18	1.30	0.22	72.6	0.4	10.0	50.0	75	100	51	49	29,986	956	73.5	18.1	15.1	47.5	57	19	28	42					n. o.	N. W.	do	do	
19	0.89	0.70	70.5	4.3	12.2	49.0	67	76	42	42	30,018	980	73.1	46.6	13.9	61	24	33	33	33					n. w.	N. W.	do	do	
20	1.40	1.21	65.5	12.3	10.5	41.0	69	34	42	48	29,953	958	73.4	14.3	11.8	68	32	41	32	41					N. W.	N. W.	do	do	
21	0.88	0.86	67.1	10.6	9.0	41.0	69	34	48	48	29,953	958	73.4	14.3	11.8	68	32	41	32	41					n.	n. W.	do	do	
22	0.99	0.66	67.1	9.5	7.8	41.0	80	49	59	59	963	908	73.9	12.2	9.6	61.6	75	42	51	46					n.	n. W.	clear. cirri.	clear. cirri.	
23	0.34	0.11	70.5	7.9	6.2	56.2	86	59	70	65	822	794	76.5	13.8	11.1	61.6	72	37	46	46					SS. W.	S. W.	do	do	
24	0.34	0.11	70.5	7.9	6.2	56.2	86	59	70	65	822	794	76.5	13.8	11.1	61.6	72	37	46	46					SS. W.	S. W.	do	do	
25	0.62	0.21	69.2	6.9	4.7	56.2	86	64	70	65	822	794	76.5	13.8	11.1	61.6	72	37	46	46					n. W.	WNW.	cloudy.	cldy. haze.	
26	0.20	20,968	64.9	7.9	6.7	56.2	83	56	63	63	911	880	72.5	11.4	9.6	61.6	75	44	51	44					NNW.	N.	overcast. cl.	clear.	
27	0.66	0.83	67.5	7.4	7.0	56.2	83	60	65	60	906	871	73.3	12.7	11.3	61.6	72	40	46	46					o. W.	WNW.	do	do	
28	0.99	0.82	67.5	6.6	7.2	56.2	80	64	59	64	895	847	74.3	16.5	13.1	61.6	61	25	33	33					o. W.	WNW.	do	do	
29	0.99	0.82	67.5	6.6	7.2	56.2	80	64	59	64	895	847	74.3	16.5	13.1	61.6	61	25	33	33					SS. W.	S. W.	do	do	
30	0.34	0.11	70.5	7.9	6.2	56.2	86	59	70	65	822	794	76.5	13.8	11.1	61.6	72	37	46	46					SS. W.	S. W.	do	do	
Mean,	30,034	30,617	70.6	7.6	7.2	56.5	82	60	63	62	29,933	29,892	75.3	12.3	10.1	57.2	74	43	50	53					light airs.		clear, pleasant.		

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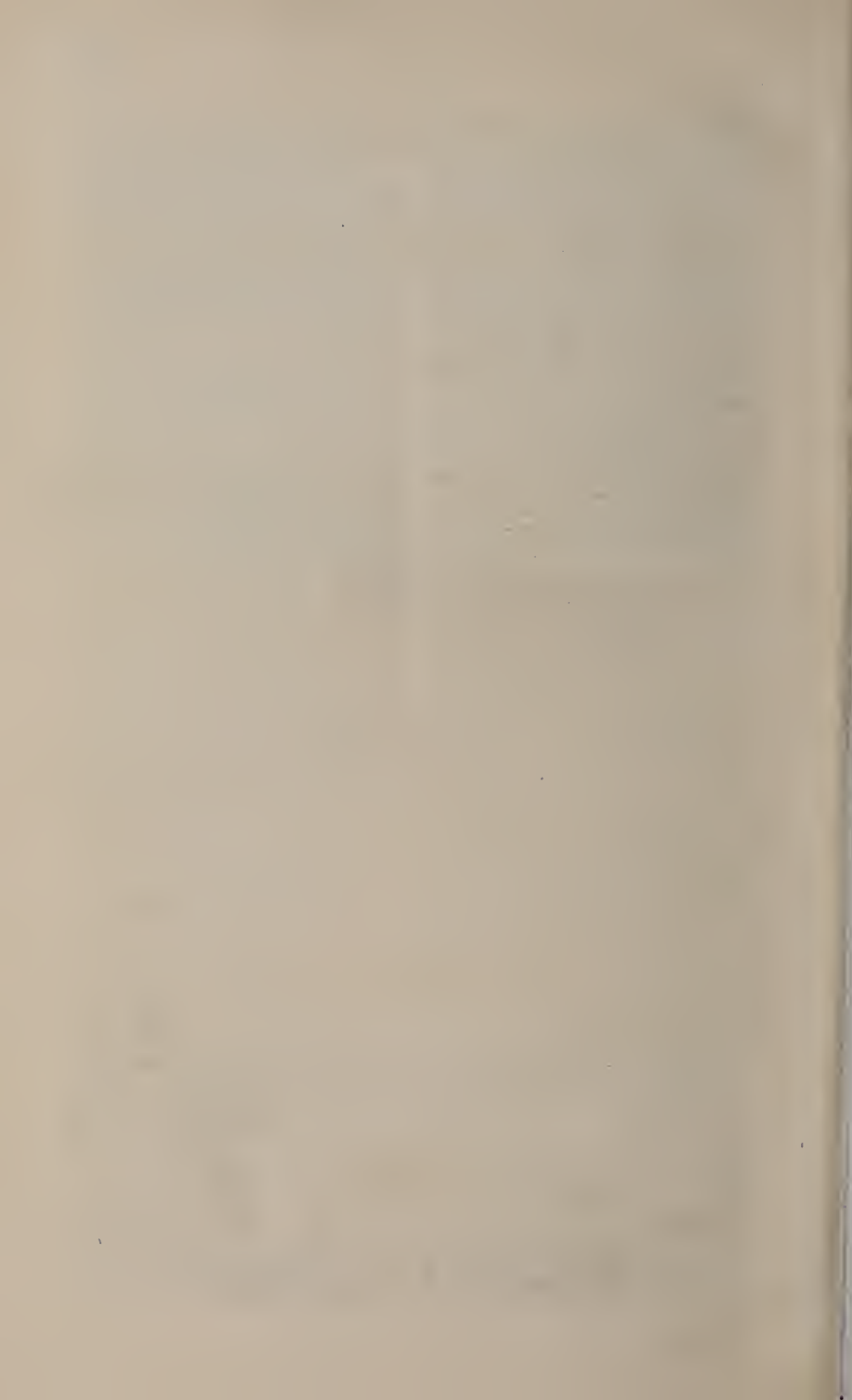
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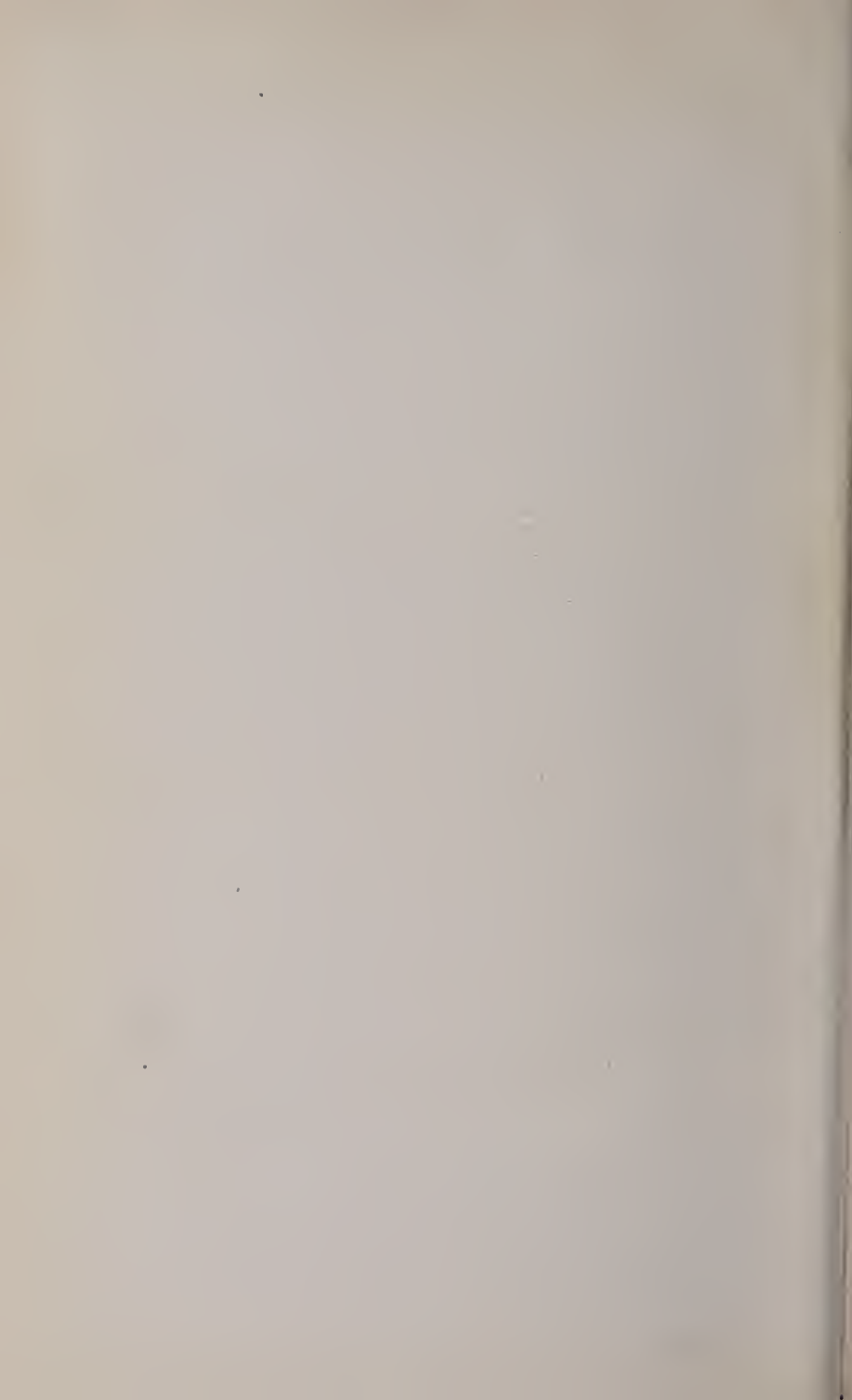
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